

JPRS 69241

13 June 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1399

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

20000317 118

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Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 69241	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1399		5. Report Date 13 June 1977	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.		11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia </div> <div> Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations </div> </div>			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 79
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PC \$5.00

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BULGARIA

MUTUAL SATISFACTION EXPRESSED ON JALLUD VISIT TO BULGARIA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 May 77 p 1 AU

[Apparent text of "announcement" on the visit by Libya's Abd al-Salam Jallud to Bulgaria]

[Text] Maj Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the general secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, paid the Bulgarian People's Republic an official and friendly visit on 9 and 10 May, at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee and the Bulgarian People's Republic Government.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, received Maj Abd al-Salam Jallud and had a businesslike and friendly talk with him.

Official talks took place between the delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, led by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, led by Maj Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress.

The state of Bulgarian-Libyan relations and the prospects for further strengthening and developing them was thoroughly reviewed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The two sides highly evaluated the role and significance of the personal contacts and talks which have taken place between Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and Col Mu'ammarr Qadhdhafi, leader of the Revolution of 1 September, and which have opened a new stage in the development of Bulgarian-Libyan relations.

The two sides hail the relations of friendship and cooperation that exist between them. They declared that there are broad possibilities for the development of that cooperation and expressed their willingness to realize these possibilities in the interests of both peoples.

While exchanging views on topical international issues, it was concluded with satisfaction that the stands of the two countries are similar.

The two sides confirmed their determination to continue the struggle against the aggressive attempts of imperialism, colonialism, reaction and Zionism to reestablish their positions in the Arab region and the African Continent. They declared that they will act resolutely to unite the efforts of the developing countries' progressive forces and strengthen their ties with the socialist community.

A protocol on the further development of Bulgarian-Libyan economic and scientific-technical cooperation was signed during the visit.

The two sides expressed their great satisfaction with the talks and the results of the visit of Maj Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the general secretariat of the General People's Congress, which are a new contribution to the development of Bulgarian-Libyan relations.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

DEPARTING JAPANESE ENVOY--Council of Ministers Chairman Stanko Todorov today received Japanese ambassador to Bulgaria Takumi Hosaki, in connection with his forthcoming final departure from the country. Boris Tsvetkov, deputy foreign minister, was also present. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 13 May 77 AU]

BULGARIAN-GREEK YOUTH PROTOCOL--Sofia, May 11 (BTA)--A 1977 cooperation protocol was signed by the Dimitrov Komsomol and the Greek Communist Youth here last night. The document was signed by Mr Boicho Shteryanov, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Komsomol, and by Mr (Dimitris Gontikas), first secretary of the Central Council of the Greek Communist Youth. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 11 May 77 AU]

USSR DELEGATION DEPARTURE--The USSR delegation, led by (Ivan Denisov), deputy minister of plant-building for heavy industry, departed from Bulgaria on 11 May. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 11 May 77 AU]

USSR KOMSOMOL LEADERS--Evgeniy Tyazhelnikov, CPSU Central Committee member and first secretary of the Leninist Komsomol Central Committee, and Col Yuriy (Golskov), members of the USSR Komsomol delegation to the 13th Congress of the Dimitrov Komsomol, on 12 May were awarded the Bulgarian Medal for strengthening Combat Friendship. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 May 77 AU]

DELEGATION RETURN FROM POLAND--The Bulgarian delegation to the world Assembly of Peace Builders, led by Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin, returned on 12 May to Bulgaria. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 May 77 AU]

DELEGATION RETURN FROM SWITZERLAND--The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Nikolay Georgiev, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, returned on 12 May from Switzerland. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 12 May 77 AU]

ENVOY TO SPAIN--Madrid 6 May 1977 (BTA report): Yesterday King Juan Carlos received Krum Bosev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Bulgarian People's Republic to Spain, at the "Oriente" Palace, where the Bulgarian ambassador presented his credentials. A talk was held, in which Marcelino Oreja Aguirre, minister of foreign affairs of Spain, also participated. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 May 77 p 6 AU]

ROMANIAN VISITOR--Comrade Pencho Kubadinski today received Tamara Dobrin, leader of the visiting Romanian delegation and RCP Central Committee member. During the friendly talks they briefed each other on the activity of the Fatherland Front and of the Romanian Socialist Unity Front regarding fulfillment of the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and of the 11th RCP Congress. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 10 May 77 AU]

SOWING PLAN FULFILLMENT--According to data supplied by the organizational center at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the planned cotton-growing campaign has been completed in Bulgaria. Rice sowing is also expected to be completed within the next few days. The sowing of corn for grain, however, is lagging and only 72 percent of the total plan has been fulfilled. The Stara Zagora, Sliven Razgrad and Vratsa okrugs are behind schedule in this respect. The first mowing campaign of alfalfa is also lagging--22 percent so far. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 10 May 77 AU]

WORKERS' SALARIES--Sofia, May 10 (BTA)--In the 1948-1975 period the real working salary of the Bulgarian increased 2.7 times, which stands for an average annual growth of 3.7 percent. The real incomes per capita of the population also marked a rapid increase. The average annual rate of this increase for the 1953-1975 period was 6.15 percent. A summarizing index of the degree of development and meeting of the needs of the Bulgarian people is the consumption fund per capita of the population. While in 1952 this fund amounted to 265 leva, in 1975 it was 1,196 leva. That is, it grew more than 4.5 times, at an average annual rate of 6.7 percent. [Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 10 May 77 AU]

ACADEMICIAN LYUBOMIR KRUSTANOV--Academician Lyubomir Krustanov, former chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and member of the Academy of Sciences' Presidium died on 8 May. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 10 May 77 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COLOTKA REPORTS ON FULFILLMENT OF CPCZ CONGRESS DECISIONS

Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 May 77 LD

[Text] The following are substantial excerpts from the report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium delivered by Peter Colotka, member of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Slovak Premier, at today's session of the CPSL Central Committee:

At the beginning the report says: At its seventh session the Central Committee of the CPCZ discussed the implementation thus far of the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress in the sphere of satisfying the material needs of the population and the directions for the further development of internal trade and services. The aim of today's session, as a followup of the conclusions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee, was to assess internal trade and services in Slovakia and to adopt measures for defining and fulfilling the tasks set by the party, state and the economic bodies and organizations.

The deliberations of the CPCZ Central Committee, as was stressed by Comrade Husak, reflect the advantageous conditions in the party and in society, the unity and strength of the party and in society, the unity and strength of the party and its concentrated endeavor and efforts to implement the conclusions of the 15th congress. The increasing satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people is a political and economic goal of our party. The fulfillment of the tasks laid down in this sphere considerably influences the attitudes of the people to the policy of the party. The high topicality of these questions is also borne out by the fact that the high degree of the development of our society which has been achieved lays qualitatively new demands on the work of production, and the trades and services.

The next part of the report deals with the constant attention paid by our party to questions related to the growth of the living standards of our population. The report notes that, when evaluating the results which we in Czechoslovakia have achieved thus far in the growth of the living standards, it was stressed at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee that living standards have seen a particularly fast growth.

This was especially true during the past 8 years, when the leadership of the party, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, came to office. In a short space of time we have been able not only to eliminate the consequences of revisionist tendencies, to stop the process of inflation and to consolidate the internal market, but at the same time we have been able to materialize the grandiose social program and to achieve a significant progress in solving the housing construction problem. It is possible to say that the positive development achieved so far has put our state--as regards the level of per capita material consumption--among the most advanced countries.

The report underlines that the directive of the CPCZ on speedier growth and the elimination of differences in the economic and living standards in the national republics is being successfully translated into reality. This has been possible thanks to the correct solution--also on a regional level--of the problem of the proportion between the funds for accumulation and consumption.

Comrade Colotka then went on to compare the results attained in Slovakia in 1975 with those of 1950. During that period the social product has risen almost ninefold. Extensive investment in construction did much toward the considerable expansion of the material and technical base of the nonproductive sectors. In comparison with 1950 today six times as many students are studying at Slovak universities, and the number of beds in medical establishments has more than doubled. Substantial funds have been spent on constructing houses of culture, factory clubs, libraries, museums and galleries, maintaining of historical buildings, obtaining the most up-to-date equipment for radio, television and film work as well as on developing the printing industry.

A far-reaching housing program--almost 770,000 apartments have been built--has greatly improved the living conditions of the population in Slovakia. The road network has improved, as has the bus network. More telephones have been installed and parks, sports stadiums and recreation amenities have been built. All this makes the life of our people easier and creates conditions for a constantly improving satisfaction of their all-round needs and interests.

Hand-in-hand with the speedy development of the social consumption sector, personal consumption has increased smoothly as well. This was reflected in a visible rise in the consumption of food and industrial products. For example, per capita meat consumption has risen by 40 kilograms. The present stage of building an advanced socialist society is characterized by new trends stemming from socioeconomic transformations, more free time, the high percentage of employed women and from the general rise in educational and cultural standards. More leisure time has resulted, for example, in a growing demand for recreation, sports and cultural items and for people's hobbies. There is a growing demand for hotel and catering services. The high proportion of employed women demands a more intensive development of those types of products and services which will free the family from housework.

There are growing demands that high quality, fashion and esthetic properties be reflected in products. This qualitatively new situation, the report stresses, also demands appropriate changes in the methods of work and organization in retail trade and in services. Under conditions of what we would call a more demanding market, tasks can no longer be mastered with those approaches, forms and methods of work which were sufficient when demands could not be met, when it was easy to sell--or rather to distribute--everything that supplied the market.

Comrade Colotka stressed that the expansion of personal consumption would continue to depend on the population's monetary income, which will rise in the Sixth Five-Year Plan by 25.6 percent per inhabitant in Slovakia. The planned increase in retail turnover in that period will amount to 31 percent. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan we have also set ourselves more challenging tasks in the services sector, which is an important component of material consumption.

Their performance in local economies and production cooperatives will grow by one-third, while there will be a considerable difference in the dynamic growth rate for various types of services.

The securing of food production amounts to a permanent and most important task. In this connection, the report notes that we have to concentrate attention in improving the structure of our diet. We must implement the most recent scientific findings about the diet for the benefit of our population. The further development of the diet should be directed in production, trade and consumption in keeping with the altered physiological needs of individual groups of the population and with the new way of life. Above all, there has been a general decrease in physical demands, the achieving of which was possible thanks to scientific and technological progress. The further development in the structure of the diet should, therefore, lead to a higher consumption of proteins, above all, animal proteins. There should be a slight increase in the consumption of fats, while vegetable fats should grow proportionately faster. There should be a more noticeable decrease in the consumption of those items with sugar content, and an increase in the consumption of food containing vitamins and minerals. In keeping with these points, we have prepared the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. We anticipate an increased and improved consumption of meat and meat products--above all, through an increase of the available lean cuts of meat, poultry and fish. We must more significantly increase the consumption of milk and dairy products. The consumption of fruit and vegetables is very important. In this area we still lag considerably behind the recommended norm and we are also behind in comparison with the outside world as well as with the potential for our own production. At the same time a considerable proportion of the consumption of fruit and vegetables is covered by imports.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Trade, the consumer cooperatives and the Slovak price office are now taking measures for the harvest and procurement plan for this year's fruit and vegetable crops.

The next part of the report notes that the quality and degree of the final stage in the processing of agricultural products must be improved. After the good experiences from past years, it is necessary to continue enriching the market with a number of products which facilitate the easier preparation of meals in homes. It is necessary to increase the production of semi-finished foods, complete convenience foods, of frozen, diabetic and diet products and to construct centralized production facilities for the production of food and semifinished foods and to continue to improve the quality of packing and packaging technology in order to simplify the sales, processing and actual use of food.

Comrades at the appropriate ministries as well as in the middle levels of management will have to analyze more deeply the problems of the production and sale of furniture. The actual sales over the last 2 years have not reached the planned levels, and stocks of unsold furniture have appeared. Practical experience shows that the consumer does not always find in the shop those types and models of furniture which satisfy his needs and taste. The stocks piled up in warehouses and in shops testify to insufficient flexibility by production and trade toward concrete demand.

As regards textile products and footwear where our rate of consumption is among the highest in the world, more dynamic sales will increasingly depend on the speed with which we introduce elements of fashion and elements of technological development. Above all, we need new materials for improving quality and the esthetic aspects of the products.

In connection with the utilization of free time, demand for so-called informal clothing and informal footwear will grow.

Another problem we have still not succeeded in solving is an insufficient supply of spare parts to the market.

It still is not the rule that every producer must bear the full responsibility for insuring supplies of spare parts and components for products which he supplies to the market. The situation in the supply of spare parts for automobiles as well as for other products is the subject of repeated complaints. It angers people who often search in vain for a trivial yet indispensable part. The Central Committee expects that communists in production, in general engineering and in other industries will show greater understanding and responsibility for the speedier improvement of supplies of spare parts for the domestic market and for repair shops.

In enriching our domestic market, an important part is also played by imports of consumer goods. Above all, we must use the funds earmarked for this to import those goods which we are unable to produce at home. For

example, this applies to imports of citrus fruits, where in the past we have managed to fully satisfy demand. Imports of coffee and cocoa beans, whose prices have risen substantially lately, account for considerable sums. That is why we must give the most careful consideration to the most rational utilization of funds, especially to eliminating shortages of certain goods, and to making the range of goods more varied.

The share of services provided by boarding and catering establishments will increase steadily in the structure of the population's consumption. This is the result of the expansion of tourism, weekend recreation, motoring and the general rise in living and cultural standards of the population. We must devote greater attention to operating boarding and catering establishments, the quality of services, the courtesy of the staff, and to order, cleanliness and honesty in charging for services. In this connection it is particularly necessary to stress the question of hygiene and cleanliness in general, because we encounter these kinds of shortcomings in restaurants, hotels, at railway stations, in trains, cinemas and in other public establishments. The solution of this problem is not a matter for investment, but is, above all, the responsibility of the competent workers and relates to their cultural standards and their relationship toward their environment.

The report which the Presidium submitted at today's session of the CPSL Central Committee then deals with the problem of trade. At the beginning of this section it points out that higher demands must permeate the complex sphere of mutual relations between production and trade so that social interests--the interests of satisfying the demands of the population--can be insured, and so that we are in a position to identify who is responsible for the nondelivery of goods to the domestic market as well as for unnecessarily high stocks. Many shortcomings encountered by the consumer in shops need not exist if the entire mechanism of the movement of goods from the wholesale to the retail work functioned better. Almost 75 percent of all supplies reach the retail network via wholesale establishments. That is why the standard of trade in general depends to a large measure on a good organization of this movement. Furthermore, prompt, correct and punctual supplies to retail establishments demand effective measures in the sphere of deliveries. Late deliveries in many cases are caused not only by the bad state of the transport system, but especially by shortcomings in the organization of work and transport.

It is necessary to appreciate the work of trade in implementing new forms for providing supplies of food products by means of computer technology. Our citizens criticize the frequent closing down of shops for lengthy repairs and maintenance, inventories and the uncoordinated delivery of goods as well as holidays. In view of a shortage of shop space, work must be organized in such a way to insure that existing shops are used as rationally as possible.

The same goes for opening hours, which in many shops overlap with the working time of the majority of the people. Comrade Colotka said that we know this makes shopping more difficult and at the same time has a negative effect on the utilization of working time. These problems should be analyzed in a more detailed manner by the organizations and the national committees, who should arrive at the appropriate conclusions. We must appreciate that internal trade has paid considerable attention to the development of the new forms of sales. However, even self-service facilities--as we use them today--can still be improved. Just as we have overcome an aversion to openly displayed footwear in the shops, it is necessary to apply this sales method to other products as well, in order to save shop floor space and warehouse space, comrades in trade should consider how to broaden the forms of catalog sales as well as postal sales with catalog advertisement. Above all, in those enterprises where the number of women is high, they should follow the good example of the textile enterprise at Rytarpole and the textile enterprise at Trencin where good services are provided by the shopping by order method.

When improving the work of trade and looking for new forms of selling, more creative skill is needed, as well as imagination and courage, a broader study of foreign experiences and their more flexible application.

The tasks we have been solving in the sphere of the material consumption of the population have required a vast construction of the material and technological basis of trade. A backward and atomized network has been gradually reconstructed into a modern and progressive one which can fulfill demanding tasks. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan, in comparison with the previous one, we will allocate funds for the construction of this network which will exceed the same figure for the Fifth Five-Year Plan by 21.4 per cent. Special attention must be paid to solving acute needs of the city of Bratislava, where there now is the greatest shortage of shops. Here, but also in other towns, it will be necessary that the national committees more thoughtfully consider demolitions which are subsequently and with insufficient flexibility replaced by new developments.

In view of the growing complexity of the tasks of trade and the political and social importance of its work, the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee considers it necessary to improve the selection and the political and professional preparation and education of the working people for this branch in both schools for apprentices and secondary and high schools. The development of the material consumption thus far shows that ever greater importance is played in its structure by services by enterprises of local economies and production cooperatives.

The emphasis which was put by the party and state bodies and by the national committees on this branch has been reflected in the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The 52.1 per cent growth in paid services for the population, represents one of the most

dynamic chapters in living standards. The Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee appreciated the work of all those who contribute to good services and stressed the initiative of the district industrial enterprises in Cadca and Humenne, the communal services in Bratislava, and others.

However, we often witness insufficient quality and long delivery dates. Many complaints are lodged on the low quality of chemical cleaners and laundries, the poor quality of repairs of industrial consumer goods, footwear, tailored clothing, the insufficient network of shops, awkward opening hours and the behavior of staff toward customers. We must not allow the good name of the decisive majority of the working people in services to be damaged by shoddy work, poor quality, cheating, bribes and unauthorized labor by some individuals. Such phenomena have no place in our socialist society.

In the further development of services we need to eliminate differences between various towns and districts. The national committee must pay more attention to the timely completion of projects for services. We need to broaden the delivery system--above all, in the cleaning and washing of textiles. It is necessary to improve the quality and flexibility of repair services. The repair of durable personal goods must be carried out on a larger scale directly in the households. All of this is impossible without the further education of young people. It seems as if the tailor, the shoemaker, the stonemason and other traditional professions are dying out. Specialization for new types of repairs is developing too slowly. In the production cooperatives we need to create suitable working and social conditions for the employment of the disabled. The demands on the work of the consumer cooperatives will further grow owing to the social and economic changes which are taking place in the villages. While the consumption of home-produced foodstuffs will decrease, the supply of the population with meat, milk, vegetables and fruit through the trade network will grow. We must remember this when developing the network of shops, refrigeration equipment and the organization of the deliveries of goods. In securing the exacting tasks of the trade and services, a significant role has been and is being played by the national committees. We want them to further assert their influence and jurisdiction in all trade systems--thus to even more effectively influence the correct localization of the retail network, the timing even regional distribution and the smooth flow of supplies, and to order opening hours in keeping with the needs of the working people as well as with social interests.

It will be necessary to improve the direct management of restaurant establishments and to clear stocks. The work of national committees will have to be intensified, especially with the aim of developing services provided by local management establishments and production cooperatives in accordance with a uniform concept.

The Presidium of the Central Committee considers it inevitable that communists and managerial staffs at all levels of management in trade and

services in general should give greater attention to intensifying supervisory work with the aim of securing the tasks of trade and protecting the consumer as well as socialist property.

Life today and many other factors show that the effectiveness of adopted measures is still far from adequate, and that they often do not bring the desired results and a substantial improvement. Control purchases by state trade inspectors in 1976 demonstrate that the proportion of overcharged items has not been reduced in comparison with the previous year. In this respect we cannot be satisfied with the present work of inspectors of shop and managerial staffs in trade organizations. Therefore, leading workers in trade must reappraise the reason for the ineffective inspection and bring about prompt remedies. Managerial and supervisory bodies must insure future improvement in the standards of inspection while at the same time insuring consistency and an uncompromising approach in their work along with a more coordinated approach by all relevant bodies. In addition to specialized inspection it is necessary to draw citizens into the struggle against shortcomings in trade and in services on a wider and more purposeful manner, to increase the effectiveness of consumer supervision at national committee level and to make wider use of the work of their aktiv and commissions.

Later the report stresses that our party pays great attention to all aspects relating to the material consumption of the population, which influences the thinking of people and shapes their views and attitudes. This confirms the significance of party political work in this sphere. The successes attained in the period of building socialist trade are not small or accidental. They have been achieved under the leadership of our party and are connected with the active organizational work of party bodies, organizations and mass social organizations.

The Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee favorably appraises and appreciates the work of the communists, their activity and their commitment in domestic trade and services. They help to insure the needs of the population, stabilize the market, train cadres and to educate and politically influence the young generation.

Many good examples can be cited which show how to proceed and how to fulfill the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. It is clear, Comrade Colotka stressed, that the methods used up to now are no longer adequate for the qualitatively new tasks facing us in the period leading up to the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. We shall have to develop and generalize more than in the past all that is new and all that has proved its worth. We must introduce it into collectives, but at the same time we must help collectives master new methods and forms of work.

Vast possibilities are offered by socialist competition and by the activity of competing teams, socialist labor brigades and comprehensive rationalization brigades.

In conclusion the report presented by the Presidium to today's CPSL Central Committee meeting points out that the adopted decisions must be elaborated in a concrete and creative manner to cover all levels of party, state and economic management. Party organizations and bodies must spearhead these endeavors. They must create the necessary political climate for the prompt and successful fulfillment of the elaborated measures. In this it will be necessary to especially concentrate on the following tasks:

- 1) To insure the stability of the domestic market by correct relationships between the incomes of the population and the quantity and structure of goods and services. In this connection, greater attention must be given to the range and quality of products, as well as to the elimination of shortages of certain goods.
- 2) To raise the conceptual and long-term prospects while deepening the principles of sectors in formulating a trade policy as well as in outlining the future development of services.
- 3) To develop forms of salesmanship that have proved successful in the past and to introduce new and progressive sales methods with the aim of improving the quality of services and a more rational utilization of the labor force and the material-technical base of trade as well as the general increase in its efficiency.
- 4) In the future development of the material and technical base of trade and services to insure more effective coordination of its position in accordance with the requirements of individual regions and districts as well as with the development of the settlement structure.
- 5) To improve the quality of training new workers.
- 6) To raise the standard of managerial work.
- 7) At the national committee level to intensify all-round care for the material consumption of the population by having a more effective influence on all sales systems, as well as improving the direct management of organizations.

The demanding tasks awaiting our socialist society this year and in the years to come in all spheres of activity will be fulfilled honorably and responsibly, Comrade Colotka stressed: This will happen if the atmosphere of high demands, responsibility and a critical and self-critical approach toward evaluating accomplished work are further intensified and consolidated and if shortcomings are overcome boldly and in a principled manner and bottlenecks eliminated. That is why we shall place particularly high demands on the work of managerial staffs who are directly responsible for the fulfillment of the intentions of our party's policy.

At the end of this year we shall celebrate the 60th anniversary of the 1917 socialist revolution. We expect that, just as in other spheres of our life, workers in trade and the services will greet this jubilee of progressive forces all over the world by initiatives in such a significant sector as the satisfaction of the growing needs of our population.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' COMMENTS ON DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 77 p 4 AU

[Karel Pomaizl article: "Marxism-Leninism and the General Democratic National Principles"]

[Summary] "Hypocritical concern for the freedom and independence of the socialist countries and communist parties also resound in the current human rights campaign unleashed by imperialist propaganda with the objective of discrediting socialism."

The general democratic national principles are the original tasks and demands of the bourgeois democratic revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. Their positive, democratic aspects stand out in the struggle against feudalism and national oppression. "But being a reflection and expression of the relations in a capitalist exploiting class society, they reveal their narrowness. They are formal, like the other bourgeois rights, liberties and principles. In their classical form they are restricted to the political rights sphere."

They proceed from a concept which perpetuates and makes absolute the nation and which places nationalism above everything else. In the period of imperialism, the general democratic national principles became the privilege of a handful of people in power who are misusing these principles, demagogically referring to a more progressive past, for their own imperialist goals ('defense of the homeland, safeguarding of the nation's interests,' and so forth, while denying them at the same time to the oppressed and underprivileged nations. Whereas in that case the bourgeoisie falsifies the original meaning of the general democratic national principles and turns them upside down, it does not hesitate to throw them overboard to preserve its own class domination if it feels threatened by its own people.

"These circumstances make it possible and indeed require that the proletariat adopts the general democratic national principles and incorporates them in its revolutionary struggle. Because efforts are being undertaken today to counterpose the 'democratic socialism' of social democracy to the allegedly undemocratic Leninism, it must be emphasized that it was precisely and only Lenin who, unlike the rightwing socialists grasped the tremendous importance of the struggle for democratic demands and their organic linkage with the struggle for socialism, who had them included with every possible determination in the program of the Bolshevik party and who accomplished their consistent implementation in the October Revolution and in the practice of the Soviet state."

But the revolutionary workers movement is aware of both the positive aspects of these principles and of their historic limitations. Socialism implements the democratic content of the general democratic national principles and substantially changes their meaning. Principles which formerly used only to relate to the nation have acquired in the workers movement the nature of freedom, independence, and so forth of the workers class. And, under socialism they relate to the entire socialist community.

"But adjusting the original bourgeois democratic principles to the requirements of socialism is subject to certain limits. The new societal system cannot emerge by merely adjusting to the old one.

"Proletarian and socialist internationalism is a historically higher principle of socialism compared with the general democratic national principles. The bourgeois democratic national principles require a mutual competition among nations. Internationalism eliminates old isolations and past obstacles and places the common interests above all, selfish exaltations of nation.

"Internationalism replaces bourgeois individualism with socialist collectivism."

The historically, politically and morally lower value of the general democratic--that is, bourgeois democratic--principles as compared with the higher principles of internationalism can be visually demonstrated by the example of the problem of equality of rights. "Equality of rights involves the right to undertake or not to undertake obligations toward others, possibly on the basis of considerations for one's own benefits. But the principle of proletarian and socialist international solidarity is far above this individualistic, selfish principle. Equality of rights is being strictly equated with equivalence. But jealous solicitude for not doing or giving more than others is alien to proletarian and socialist internationalism.

"Marxism-Leninism does not cherish a nihilistic attitude toward the past and incorporates all things of value created by mankind in the past. This is why proletarian and socialist internationalism also integrates the positive elements of the democratic national principles which were originally bourgeois, but when compared with the specific proper principles

of proletarian and socialist internationalism (international unity and solidarity, elevating the common, international features above the national ones, the ability to make national sacrifices to the common cause of international socialism and communism, the struggle against national narrowness and nationalism, and so forth) those principles constitute only a lower, elementary stratum and only represent the minimum program of the revolutionary workers movement.

"The revisionists (inasmuch as they at least verbally avow internationalism) are trying to reduce proletarian, socialist internationalism only to those principles which were taken over from bourgeois democratism, principles which they in addition interpret in a bourgeois, nationally restricted and nationalistic manner. This is the basis of the so-called national (that is nationalistic) communism. They ignore or even refute those principles which constitute the proper framework of internationalism and which agree with the entirely new nature and requirements of the revolutionary workers movement and socialism.

"Thus what happens is the replacement of internationalism with petit bourgeois nationalism, a replacement against which Lenin (foreseeing the problems now existing in the world) had emphatically warned: 'The struggle against this evil (against the deeply rooted petit bourgeois nationalist prejudices) is becoming all the more pressing as the more topical becomes the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (that is, one existing in a single country which is unable to comprehend world politics) into an international dictatorship (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat at least in several advanced countries) able to exert a decisive influence on world politics. Petit bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the recognition of the equality of rights of the nations and nothing more and ignores (not to mention the strictly formalistic nature of such a recognition) national selfishness, whereas proletarian internationalism requires first that the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country be subjected to the interests of this struggle on a worldwide scale and second that the nation which overcomes the bourgeoisie should be able and determined to make the maximum national sacrifices to overthrow international capital.'"

In keeping with this, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed with good reason the importance of proletarian internationalism at the 25th CPSU Congress.

"Our experiences also confirm this profound idea of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Proletarian and socialist internationalism is one of the foundations of the foreign policy of communist parties and states and the basis of the firm position of Czechoslovakia in the world."

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR PREMIER TOASTS LIBYA'S JALLUD

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 May 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text of CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal's toast at Prague dinner for Libya's 'Abd al-Salam Jallud on 16 May]

[Text] Honored Friend 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, Honored Libyan Guests, Honored Comrades! In the first place allow me to impart to you the genuine pleasure we feel over your second visit to Prague. We welcome you in the capital of socialist Czechoslovakia as a prominent member of the general secretariat of the All-People's Congress of Libya. I believe that our pleasure over your visit will be shared by you. In the course of the not quite 2 days you will stay among us, we will try to repay our debt for the warm hospitality and solicitude extended to us during our fall visit to Libya in 1975. We still gladly recall the demonstrations of friendship on the part of your revolutionary people.

Czechoslovakia follows with ardent interest the efforts of the Libyan people who, under the leadership of Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi and his closest collaborator, 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, have embarked on the strenuous road of social and economic changes in the society and thus have joined the progressive nations which are transforming the world for the better. That is why we welcomed the declaration on the establishment of the people's power, a declaration which confirms that the Libyan revolution has not stopped halfway and that it is yet more determinedly oriented toward fighting imperialism and neocolonialism.

By now one cannot any longer imagine the struggle for a progressive orientation of the Arab world and Africa without the Libyan state. Your influence and your authority are evident throughout the area of the Mediterranean and also in Asia. It is not strange at all that the determined anti-Zionist and antiracial attitude of the Libyan leadership arouses the anger of reaction and that it is the source of hostile campaigns which often threaten the security of your state. In such difficult moments, inevitable in any revolution, you can rely on the friendship and solidarity of the socialist

countries. The words his excellency Col Mu-ammarr al-Qadhdhafi spoke during his recent visit in Moscow are valid letter by letter: "The most important thing is that we jointly take a stand against colonialism, imperialism, against reaction and that we come out for strengthening peace throughout the world."

We certainly will not find any more appropriate appreciation of Czechoslovak-Libyan cooperation, either, which is oriented in this very way and which, in addition, is of a long-term and dynamic nature.

Therefore, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, was able to put Libya among the particularly friendly countries at the 15th CPCZ Congress. Our current talks again have demonstrated that we have many joint interests and that we are conducting a joint struggle for a better arrangement of the relations among states and for the happy life of our peoples.

I gladly note that we share similar views on the course of the events around us. We are profoundly convinced that no one will reverse the wheel of history and that it is turning in the direction of detente, toward the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This norm of international relations at the end of the 20th century will obviously change the face of the world in time. After all, thanks to the initiative of the socialist states and thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, Europe, where the two world wars flared up, has really become a continent of peace and cooperation.

It is true, that much yet remains to be accomplished.

Together with you we closely follow the dangerous development in the Middle East endangering the future of three continents. We reaffirm in this context that the Czechoslovak people resolutely support the national liberation struggle of the Arab forces against Israel aggression. We insist on the fulfillment of the demand for the complete withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, on the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination involving the establishment of an independent state. It has become evident that no partial solution brings peace and justice to this area. That is why we strive for an overall settlement offered by the representative forum of the Geneva Conference at which, of course, also representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization must be given a just representation.

We are also concerned over the development of the situation in Africa which has evidently become the center of attention of the forces of imperialism. The current events in Ethiopia and Zaire not only enlarged the number of hotbeds of armed conflicts on the continent but also slowed down the process of the establishment of a united front which is faced by the historic

task of completing the liberation of Africa, not only in the political but also in the economic sense since liberty in these two fields is the two sides of one and the same coin.

Imperialism does not miss a single opportunity to impede progressive changes in the Arab world, above all, such states as Libya which have found the right road and are cooperating with the socialist countries. Attempts to foment disputes between neighbors and to weaken unity in the face of Israeli aggression are practices of imperialism which have to be countered.

Honored Friend 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, Honored Friends!

In the course of our friendly talks we have strengthened our conviction of the correctness of our orientation and of the profitability of our cooperation. Therefore, we will continue the tradition of summit meetings. We are certain that there is no obstacle to talks at lower levels, too, proceeding with equal success, to our Libyan friends always finding open doors in our country and hands prepared for cooperation. This is a valuable finding for the future.

Allow me now to raise my glass and toast:

The health of his excellency Mu-ammar Gadhdhafi, the successes of his closest collaborator and our dear guest, 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, the health of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, the friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the Libyan Arab Socialist People's Jamahiriya, the health of all those present. Long live the Libyan Arab Socialist People's Jamahiriya!

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER CONGRATULATES TITO ON BIRTHDAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Josip Broz Tito, chairman of the LCY and president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

Esteemed Comrade Tito: On your 85th birthday I convey to you friendly greetings and cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the peoples of the GDR.

For four decades at the head of the Yugoslav workers movement and its party you have devoted all your strength to the people's struggle against imperialist reaction and exploitation, to the victory of the heroic Yugoslav People's Liberation Army over fascism, to the socialist construction of your country and the strengthening of the unity and fraternity of the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The communists and all working people of the GDR know and respect you as a recognized leader of the workers class and the peoples of Yugoslavia, as a prominent representative of the international communist and workers movement, as an outstanding political leader who has earned great merits through his indefatigable advocacy of peace and international security. They value highly the consistent personal contribution you are making to the expansion of the friendly relations between our two socialist states.

Esteemed Comrade Tito: I feel compelled to affirm on the occasion of your jubilee the conviction that the close cooperation between the SED and LCY, the GDR and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be further developed and deepened also in the future for the benefit of our peoples, of socialism, democracy and peace.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you best health, full creative energy and further successes in your work for our common noble cause, the victory of communism and peace.

With communist greetings.

E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin, 25 May 1977.

EAST GERMANY

SED CC GREETES MEXICAN CP CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 May 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To the delegates of the 18th Congress of the Mexican Communist Party [PCM].

Dear comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys to the 18th PCM Congress cordial, fraternal greetings.

The great progress made by the PCM in strengthening its ranks provides new strong impulses for the struggle of the Mexican workers class and all working people for their political and social rights and for the striving of all progressive forces of your country for united action. It is at the same time an effective contribution to the struggle of the communist and workers parties and of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in the world for implementing the ideals of peace, democracy and socialism.

We congratulate you on the great success manifested in the legal holding of your party congress. In close solidarity the SED supports your demand for the reestablishment of all political rights for your party.

Dear comrades: The SED Central Committee wishes your 18th party congress full success. May the efforts of the Mexican communists for strengthening their Marxist-Leninist party and for increasing their political influence in the interests of the struggle for peace and socialism lead to new victories.

With communist greetings.

The SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary, Berlin, 23 May 1977.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

NEW LAW ON PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 9, May 77 pp 253-255

[Speech by Dr Josef Streit, GDR prosecutor general, to the People's Chamber on 7 Apr 77: "Improvement of the Legal Bases for the Activity of the Public Prosecutor's Office".]

[Text] With the new law on the GDR public prosecutor's office another step is taken in pursuance of the Ninth SED Congress decisions toward bringing the law in force into harmony with the requirements for social development.

The previous public prosecutor's law was issued in 1963. Meanwhile -- especially since the Eighth Party Congress -- the constitutional bases of our state and the activities of the state organs have been further developed. The present draft law takes account of this development also with respect to the position and tasks of the public prosecutor's office. The new law is a sound basis for insuring the necessary level for the work of the public prosecutor's office that would conform to the more mature social conditions.

Further Improvement in the Social Effectiveness of the Public Prosecutor's Work

Socialist law serves the realization of the working people's interests, the protection of the socialist order and the freedom and dignity of the citizens. It is an important instrument for the all round strengthening of the socialist state. There is a solid unity between socialist state power and insuring great legal security. The new public prosecutor's draft law thus commits the public prosecutor's office to help protect the socialist social and state order, socialist property and the national economy from hostile and other criminal attacks and safeguard the legally guaranteed rights and interests of the citizens.

The draft law aims at creating the legal bases necessary for further enhancing the social effectiveness in the activity of the public prosecutor's office in conformity with our society's current stage of development. The main point is to bring to bear more effectively the steadily growing social potentials on the further consolidation of our legal order. The draft focuses on still more closely combining the activity of the public prosecutor's office with overall

social activities in implementing socialist legality and insuring order and security. In the preparation of the draft, account has been taken of the vast experiences made with the 1963 public prosecutor's law. Of special importance have there been the insights gained from the successful implementation of the Eighth and Ninth SED Congress decisions.

Strict Observance of Socialist Legality and Safeguarding Great Legal Security

Article 97 of the GDR Constitution assigns to the public prosecutor's office the politically responsible function of supervising the safeguarding of the socialist social and state order and of the citizens' rights on the basis of the laws and other legal regulations of the GDR, and the strict observance of socialist legality. It must in particular lead the fight against crime and make sure that persons who have committed crimes or violations will be called to account before the court. These tasks of the public prosecutor's office are inseparably connected with the nature of socialist legality. Socialist legality is a basic method of socialist state power. It lies in providing socialist social relations with an effective structure by means of the law as it is uniformly obeyed and materialized by the state and economic management organs, enterprises, cooperatives, social organizations and the citizens. In this the public prosecutor's office has the specific task of helping in seeing legality uniformly implemented.

The socialist law of the GDR is aimed at the well-being of the whole people. It insures a high degree of organization, molded by the proven principle of democratic centralism, in the actions by the citizens on behalf of the conscious implementation of the great tasks of our time on the basis of concrete legal conduct requirements. Law serves the ever more extensive development of socialist society in accordance with the objective social inevitabilities.

Insuring great legal security is a specific mark of social security. Great legal security reflects the growing level of life under socialism and the climate of safety that typifies it, in which a meaningful life for every citizen becomes possible within a dignified, healthy and clean society.

The uniform implementation of socialist law is needed for implementing the main task in its unity between economic and social policy, and thus it becomes an ever more clearly apparent social concern. This of necessity also gives rise to consequences for reinforcing the legal guarantees seeing to it that everyone respects the law. These consequences were taken into account in the present draft.

The public prosecutors in the GDR are aware that they are making a specific contribution by their activities to insuring the inviolability of socialist law, whereby they help insure the smooth progress in shaping the socialist society.

The decisive guarantee our law has lies in its harmony with the real social conditions in our country. Further guarantees for the inviolability of

legality lie in the increasingly more deliberate implementation of our law by the state and economic management organs, the enterprises, the cooperatives and other institutions as well as by the citizens of the republic. Turning the observance of socialist law and conscious discipline into a firm human habit everywhere in the daily life of our society is a task of historic dimension.

Basic Aspects of the New Law on the Public Prosecutor's Office

(1) The draft proceeds from the consideration that with the progressive maturation of our socialist society, the tasks regarding the strict and conscientious implementation of law are increasing for all who assume state and social responsibilities. This has already been taken into account above all by the law on the local people's representations and their organs, in the decree on the tasks, rights and duties of the state-owned enterprises, combines and the association of state-owned enterprises, as well as in the Council of Ministers decision on legal work in the national economy. The SED program focuses on the "education toward a voluntary observance of socialist legal norms, the protection of socialist property including the protection from shipping damage and fire, and toward conscious discipline and high vigilance." Article 90 of the Constitution sets down that the fighting against, and prevention of, crimes and other law violations is a common concern of socialist society, its state and all citizens.

The specific function of the public prosecutor's office is inseparable from this basic task. According to article 2 section 2 of the draft law, the public prosecutor's office has to see to it that the heads of the state organs, the economic management organs, the combines, enterprises and facilities, the executive boards of the cooperatives and the managements of the social organizations assume their responsibility for implementing socialist legality and for safeguarding order and security, and that they fulfill the obligations that come with it.

We are thus concerned with the further consolidation of legal security in the GDR. As socialism on the whole, so also legality and democracy do not exist for their own sake but serve the well-being of working man. An ever better protection from law violations of all kinds is inseparably connected with the main task, which implies insuring the kind of climate of social safety where man can truly breathe freely, and where one can work with pleasure and live in dignity.

(2) The centerpiece of our efforts is the effective prevention of, and fight against, crime.

Socialism is a healthy and clean system. It develops without crises. As society matures, many possibilities arise for effectively preventing crimes and other law violations. Among the inalienable achievements of socialism is that men become safer from criminal attacks. That does not happen automatically, however, but calls for organizing ever more effectively the fighting and prevention of crime on an overall social scale and on a broad social basis. The

public prosecutor's primary attention goes of course to the protection of our socialist order and of the citizens' rights.

The coercion coming through penal law is necessary for rigorously educating those criminals who commit serious crimes or stubbornly reject educational influences. We are not oblivious to the fact that there still are forces which are doing what they can to disturb our successful development from the outside. The high legal security our workers and farmers state guarantees to its citizens as an element of their social security and safety requires, to be insured, coercion through penal law.

With the further development of developed socialist society educational potentials also grow. They make it possible more and more to make use of educational opportunities of the state and society in relation to persons who have not committed serious crimes in that they rely, in particular, on the moral and educational strength of the work collectives, whereby they contribute to the protection of our society.

(3) The public prosecutor's office has a great responsibility in strictly insuring the legality of investigative procedures. It has to see to it that in criminal proceedings the whole and nothing but the whole truth is established, that the necessary evidence, be it incriminating or exonerating, is ascertained, examined and secured, and that the legal regulations on the investigation of crimes are strictly observed. Essential for just decisions are the personality of the accused, his motives, the type and weight of his crime, and his attitude before and after committing it.

It is of great importance to us that the investigations about the individual relating to the crime will clearly reveal the positive as well as negative attitudes of the criminal. Special importance for a discriminating and individualized application of measures in criminal law responsibility here attaches to the attitude the offender has to his deed and his efforts at restitution for damage done. Honest admissions and noticeable efforts at repairing the damage done ought to be worthwhile for the offender too. Taking the proper measures for eliminating the causes and conditions that may favor the committing of crimes thus also is among the tasks the public prosecutor's office has to meet in criminal proceedings. And that is the reason why the public prosecutor's office during criminal proceedings pays much attention to the part that social forces play.

(4) It is part of the socialist profile of the public prosecutor's office in the GDR that it is focused not only at fighting crimes but has to work, in general, for the strict observance of socialist legality. Accordingly, the draft provides for the public prosecutor's office, based on the Constitution, the laws and other legal regulations of the GDR, to control the strict observance of socialist legality by the ministries and other central state organs, the local councils, the economic management organs, the combines and facilities, the social organizations and the citizens.

In particular, the public prosecutor's office exercises supervision over the uniform application of socialist law. This obligation does not infringe the responsibilities the competent organs and their executives have to accurately implementing the laws. Yet it is the duty of the public prosecutor's office to pursue all indicators of law violations and take rigorous action against them. By means of written protests or advice or by other appropriate means, the public prosecutor's office has to induce the head of any competent organ to eliminate the law violation at once and to prevent it from being repeated.

It is to be emphasized that this is not merely a matter of eliminating law violations. It is equally important to instill in the ones responsible an unequivocal attitude toward socialist legality. Notions that it sometimes might be more useful not to worry overly much about law regulations have to be paid for dearly among us at times. Much shipping damage, many fires and many an accident could have been avoided if the demands of socialist law had always been respected accurately. Thus it becomes even more important to facilitate all opportunities for state and social influences. The development of such an atmosphere is greatly being helped by the mass movement of the working people for high order, discipline and security.

(5) The main trend for further strengthening the socialist state that is pointed out in the SED program raises higher demands also for the public prosecutor's office. The implementation of this law therefore requires of the public prosecutor's office a working method that is originating from the people, operationally focused, scientifically sound and rationally organized.

And here the main thing will be consciously to realize as a unity all the tasks of the public prosecutor's office and to implement them with the goal of obtaining thereby permanent effects in consolidating socialist legality.

Of decisive importance it is for every public prosecutor to maintain close contacts with the working people and their collectives. Closeness to life is needed not only for effective publicity but also for enabling the public prosecutors to acquaint the working people directly with their own views, criticisms and suggestions and for letting them draw their own conclusions from it.

Of importance to the work of the public prosecutor's office is its cooperation with the organs of justice and security and its close contacts with the people's representations and the other state organs, with the economic management organs, the state and social control organs, the social organizations and the National Front commissions in the GDR. Thereby we insure the participation of the working people and their collectives and combine our activities with the social activities on behalf of the implementation of socialist legality and the safeguarding of order and security.

Petitions from citizens deserve great attention; they must be carefully and rapidly handled. We suggest petitions should be taken care of by discussion to the largest extent possible. The replies given the citizens have to be formulated clearly so that everyone can easily understand them. And conclusions must be drawn from that with regard to how skilled our own work is.

Legal propaganda, the explanation of the political content of law and the conveying of legal knowledge are highly important to further improving the political effectiveness of the activities of the public prosecutor's office.

Providing our own work with great skill and power of conviction is prerequisite to insuring effectiveness in the work of the public prosecutor's office. The public prosecutor is committed to a special extent in implementing by his activity socialist legality in an exemplary fashion and in showing justice and fairness toward everyone. He must explain the socialist law, work together closely with the working people, consolidate the relationship of trust with them, actively participate in public life and constantly advance his own education.

The draft takes account of the principle that only he can be a public prosecutor who is loyally dedicated to the workers class and the socialist state, has a deep fund of political-technical knowledge and has much practical experience and strength of character.

(6) The position and organization of the public prosecutor's office are reflected in its role and function in the socialist state. The GDR's public prosecutor's office is firmly embedded within unified socialist state power. Its strongly centralized structure keeps it from being locally subordinated anywhere; that corresponds to the principle of the absolute uniformity of socialist legality, which must not be infringed by any local influences.

The draft law on the public prosecutor's office in the GDR, in its entire design, suitably aims at permitting the GDR's public prosecutor's office to make a still more effective contribution to strengthening the workers and farmers state.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SENTENCING, REHABILITATION OF PRISONERS DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 9, May 77 pp 256-258

[Speech by Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, minister of interior and chief of People's Police, to the People's Chamber on 7 Apr 77 in support of the new laws on execution of sentences and prisoner rehabilitation]

[Text] The draft laws on the execution of prison sentences and the rehabilitation of citizens returning from prison to public life are responsive to the Ninth SED Congress demands on systematically perfecting socialist law and integrating it with the requirements of social development.

The law enacted on 12 January 1968 no longer conforms to the stage of development reached in the GDR. Resources have grown enormously for educating prisoners toward a conscientious obedience to the laws and responsible conduct and for effectively rehabilitating citizens returning from prison to public life. Much has already been done in recent years in taking account of the changed conditions and of the experiences gained in the execution of sentences as well as in rehabilitation.

Principles on the Execution of Sentences in the Socialist State

The new draft laws conform to our socialist state and legal order. They proceed from the fact that along with the implementation of socialist humanism, the basic rights remain protected for persons who have violated the law. Systematic efforts are being made to have convicted persons rehabilitated into society by various educational measures. There is no discrimination against them; they are not being treated as second-class individuals. The restraints that come with a prison sentence, affecting the external movement and activities, are applied only to the extent that is required for its successful execution.

Our socialist state lets itself be guided by the principle that persons sentenced to prison by a GDR court remain members of society and, while in prison, are to be educated so that they will respect the laws in the future. Socialist society assumes for someone in prison the responsibility for him in a number of ways. There is a clear emphasis on the rights and duties of prisoners and their implementation, especially the right to work including that to their personality development through the process of work.

The new draft law on the execution of sentences moves more strongly into the foreground the role the socialist society plays and the character of our state as being essential to determining the content and structure of prison sentences. It proceeds from the fact that our legal order, with the execution of sentences as part of it, serves the further development of socialist democracy and hence, our society and its citizens.

Generally speaking, the present draft law on the execution of sentences is marked by a stronger emphasis on the educational factor, on an unequivocal ruling for the prisoners' duties and rights, and on concrete formulations for the provisions in the execution of sentences.

A few remarks on details are offered to explain the basic concern of the new draft law.

Prisoners are given work in accordance with an appropriate application of labor law provisions, normally those in effect in the state-owned industry. Proceeding from there, the draft law contains stipulations which more closely define the position the prisoners occupy in the labor process.

The principle on taking care of the prisoners' dependents is given legal sanction by the draft, on the basis of the Family Code determinations.

A new rule is that, once the prisoner has been released from prison, the duration of his employment while in prison is treated like a work period bearing insurance, so that financial repercussions do not arise for his family long after he has been released.

Unity Between Secure Custody and Education in Prison

Chapter II contains the basic provisions for the execution of sentences. An essential change is being introduced here. The rigid distinctions made thus far have not been useful. The present draft provides for a reduction in the differentiation principles. In the future, there will be a distinction between "general execution" and "mitigated execution." This arrangement also will help in further improving the effectiveness of education in prison.

The intention is to have special youth prisons for juvenile delinquents. It will emphasize the difference between them and adult prisoners and improve educational possibilities.

Much attention will be paid to involving the family members in the education of such young persons. Discussions are held regularly between their guardians and representatives of public life. They are given information on the young people and their vocational training. Especially for young people in prison there has been excellent, exemplary vocational training, combined with general educational measures.

While consistently proceeding from the purpose of prison sentences and their efficient execution, the unity between safe custody and education has been applied as a principle throughout. That takes care of the concern society has in securely guarding the prisoners at all times.

It may be mentioned in this context that the courts pronounce prison sentences only for approximately one-third of the cases tried, that is, when the crimes were so great that prison becomes indispensable. Great safety and order in sentencing therefore continues to call for undivided attention.

The differentiation principles properly take into account safe custody in respect of the seriousness of the crime and the duration of the prison sentence.

The provisions on the education of prisoners have been made more precise in the present draft. Involving the prisoners themselves in the educational process is a matter that has in principle been further extended.

Also further developed, after an analysis of experiences, have been such important principles as the prisoners' maintaining contact with their families, or the participation of state organs and social forces in the educational process. Those principles are of an importance that ought not to be underrated in that they help prepare exconvicts for their social rehabilitation.

The draft law furthermore contains principles on the placement, maintenance and medical care for prisoners. These important provisions for the execution of sentences were thereby written into law for the first time.

Based on the common goals and the character of the execution of sentences in the socialist states, proven experiences by the fraternal countries are systematically and creatively further developed for perfecting the execution of sentences in the GDR and applied wherever possible. They have also been taken account of in the preparation of the present draft law.

Demands on the Prison Administrations and Social Forces

The draft laws are placing new qualitative requirements on all who are involved in the administration of justice.

Prison personnel, especially, engaged in important and complicated tasks must meet still higher demands. They will meet their responsible task when they have the necessary political and technical knowledge, a good general education, and pedagogic and psychological skills and abilities, and they will conscientiously assume the obligations this law imposes upon them through exemplary conduct and through taking an objective and proper stand at all times.

The educational process in prison is effectively being supported by numerous social forces in the collectives of the enterprises in which the prisoner is put to work and by personnel in public education, public health and other state organs and social organizations.

Many voluntary assistants, especially the local councils, help in the preparation and implementation of rehabilitation. Those citizens spare no time or effort in being engaged in this praiseworthy educational work for years. It is an activity full of sacrifice and great sociopolitical importance which on the basis of the new laws will become even more fruitful.

Rehabilitation of Exconvicts as an Overall Social Task

The draft law on the rehabilitation of exconvicts is also responsive to the greater opportunities arising from the social and political development of our republic particularly after the Eighth SED Congress. To use them still more purposefully and effectively in the rehabilitation process, for the further education and the concrete help and assistance to the citizens involved, is one of the most pressing concerns of the present draft.

The draft emphatically expresses the position of principle the socialist state takes vis-a-vis criminals. It underscores the rehabilitation of a citizen as being an overall social responsibility.

Through getting integrated in the labor process on equal terms and through further social influences upon him, the exconvict's intention to respect the GDR laws in the future as well as the universal norms governing social community will be fostered. Thereby the draft law also focuses on concretely preventing recidivism.

It should be mentioned in this context that the draft does take account of the specific conditions for rehabilitating juveniles and presents special arrangements for that too.

All in all, the draft law proceeds from the possibilities of involving the appropriate social forces in the rehabilitation process and provides for the necessary arrangements for that.

The local state organs have gathered important experiences in rehabilitation for years. They are reflected in the draft law, so that they now can be written into law and will have still more effect. Specifically, the draft sets down the responsibility of the councils of the kreises, towns, city districts and communities in the territories in which the exconvict resides in the preparation and implementation of the rehabilitation. Equally so, the duties of the managers of the enterprises and facilities where the person concerned is going to be working.

There exists a unity of course, between prison education and rehabilitation. In the interest of greater intelligibility and comprehensibility of our legal norms, the intention is to handle through separate laws the execution of prison sentences and the rehabilitation afterwards. That is also useful for a clearer definition and a more accurate assumption of responsibility on the part of the state organs concerned.

Currently, the regulations for the execution of prison sentences and for the rehabilitation in the GDR also conform to the UN recommendations on the treatment of prisoners. The new draft laws are still more responsive to them, by taking advantage of the benefits of socialist society, and they extend even further in essential matters.

The laws presented for ratification are an essential step toward further shaping the execution of sentences in the GDR and rehabilitation in conformity with overall social development, which also provides them with an importance in terms of our law policy that should not be underestimated.

5885

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

SARLOS OF MSZMP POLITBURO WELCOMES CORVALAN AT RALLY

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1555 GMT 19 May 77 LD

[Speech by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Central Committee, at 19 May Budapest rally in honor of Luis Corvalan]

[Text] Dear Comrade Corvalan! Dear Chilean guests! Esteemed rally! On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people, builders of socialism, I welcome in our midst Comrade Corvalan, secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party. It is a pleasure for all of us that Comrade Corvalan, released from prison, has accepted our invitation and is visiting Hungary. Measuring the distance in kilometers, Chile is far from us. But, if we examine the characteristics which link our peoples and make them similar to one another, we can see that Chile is among the friendly peoples with whom we were able to cooperate in the past, are cooperating now, and will continue to cooperate in the future. We are linked by our love for the fatherland, freedom in the present and future; we are also linked by the hate which fills all of us when we speak of capitalism, imperialist or fascism.

We are a free people and, as citizens of an independent country, we are building socialism. We are building it for ourselves, but we believe that in doing so we are not serving our own good alone. The socialist communities have the uplifting feeling that their plans and programs serve the cause of the whole of mankind directly or indirectly. The liberty of one people is attractive for all peoples. The free unfolding of the talent of one people clearly proves to the whole world that in millions of people talent and knowledge are glowing with the desire to transform the world, to make it more humane, and to render all peoples of the world free.

In the course of building socialism, and together with the other socialist countries, we have been achieving considerable successes year after year. We are proud of these successes; we refer to them but we are always careful that they should not blind us, or our comrades in arms. Our successes cannot blind us because we feel, see, and know that, while there is aggression in the world and while there is imperialism, what we have built and what we have created for our own purposes will always be under threat.

It is now 32 years since the destruction of fascism and the defeat of European fascist powers, but we still have reason for fear; we must fear for what we have built; we must fear for it because there are still a number of peoples in bondage and in poverty. Many peoples are still prevented from marching along the path of freedom and embarking upon the path of social upsurge and building politically, culturally and economically a society they need and of which they are worthy. We can see all this, and therefore we regard it as our duty to defend what we have built, to realize our plans, further to develop our successes and, at the same time, to stand by the side of the peoples living under oppression as faithful friends and comrades so that they may feel that we stand by them and are ready to help them and to protect their human rights.

There is need for the cohesion of hundreds of millions of progressive peoples in the world, because there are fascist powers; there are concentration camps in the world, and the prisons of the oppressive regimes are filled by tens of thousands of progressive people. Yes, there is still fascism in the world; there is oppression; there is colonialism in the world; and there are still powers which support these oppressive regimes.

There is still racism in Rhodesia and South Africa; there is discrimination in the United States and in other countries, and a small fascist clique is in power in the once free and independent Chile. There are still hotbeds of tension in the world, in the Middle East and in other areas; there are still forces that wish to reverse progress, that wish to alter the course of the world. There are still governments that do not recognize the political freedom and equality of the peoples; there are still political forces which are speculating about counterrevolutions, and expect that some day they may be successful in their attempts against socialism and progress.

It is almost 45 months since these forces interfered brazenly in Chile's internal affairs and brought to power a neofascist group. They were traitors, traitors to their country, who killed President Allende in September 1973, dishonored the people of Chile, and seized power over the country. Pinochet has created a system of the ~~cruelest~~ terror. Thousands of office holders of popular unity, communists, socialists, nonparty activists and simple sympathizers were murdered, and tens of thousands of them were put into concentration camps and prisons. Their concentration camps and the prisons they set up, and the inhumane methods and measures constituted by them, remind all of us of the ways and means adopted by Hitler and his accomplices before and during World War II.

Dear Comrade Corvalan! Believe me that we deeply feel what is happening in Chile. Counterrevolution in our country seized power in 1919 by the same means as 54 years later in 1973 Pinochet did in Chile. They adopted the same methods for 25 years against the freedom movements of the Hungarian people, against the desire for freedom of the Hungarian people in order to oppress the Hungarian people and keep them in darkness. The deeds of the Pinochet regime today show that fascism has not changed either in its aims

or in its methods; it has remained what it had been--an enemy of progress, the servant of imperialism, and an enemy of the peoples and of freedom.

No one can ever forget for one moment that the opposition of the peoples to fascism is now more forceful than it has ever been in the past. After World War II, imperialism suppressed the successful proletarian revolutions in a few European countries and set up fascism against them or in their place as the most terrible means of oppressing the people. Then, behind the attempts in Europe and the strengthening of fascism, stood the same imperialism which now supports Pinochet.

Then, however, and later, until the outbreak of World War II, there was only one power in the world which consistently, consciously and resolutely stood up to the fascist attempts. This power was the Soviet Union. From the first minute of its existence to this day, the Soviet Union stood by progressive thought and people serving the progressive cause, as well as the peoples fighting for their freedom. The revolutionary attitude of the Soviet peoples, their readiness for sacrifice, and their fight for the liberation of peoples, made possible the destruction of the two principal centers of fascism in Europe--German and Italian fascism--and this revolutionary attitude of the Soviet peoples made it possible that today in every corner, every country of the world, the people building peace can fight together, consciously and well organized against colonialism, militarism and imperialism.

This is proof of the fact that there have been great changes in the world: the forces of socialism have come to the fore and are playing a decisive role in the fate of the world, progressive forces have also come to the fore which exist in the nonsocialist countries and at times force the nonsocialist countries to adopt a consistent attitude as regards peace and the friendship and cooperation of the peoples. The fact that the socialist world system has been created and that there are progressive forces in every corner of the world indicates that the moment is near when the peoples still living in oppression and bondage will be freed.

We assure the people of Chile that we stand by them at a time of their trials, and support the struggle of the Chilean people for a better and more humane future. Our people are interested in everything; they form independent views on anything, and are deeply engaged in politics. For this reason they have followed and are following all that is happening in your country, dear Chilean comrades. We see, observe and deeply feel everything that effects your feelings when you receive news from Chile.

We very well remember 1973 and the events that took place then. We felt that counterrevolution was preparing for attack. With you in feeling, thought and moral support, we helped you in the struggle you waged in defense of democratic power. It was on 11 September 1973, the day of Pinochet's fascist coup, that the now traditional week of solidarity began in Budapest and in Hungary. Contrary to our original plans, we talked in

those days mainly about ways world imperialism brought fascism close to power, but we also said on 11 September that the advance and victory of fascism in Chile and in other countries is only temporary, and a new historical era must come for the Chilean people when they will finally gain power and keep it, and will build a socialist Chile.

Cities and villages, the products of human labor, can be destroyed, but thoughts cannot be annihilated by arms, gallows or the burning of books. The people of Chile do not know freedom from books or from theories, since between fall 1970 and fall 1973, at the time of the administration of Popular Unity, the Chileans lived as free and independent citizens in their country and were convinced that the world would help in the work of building and creating a new Chile. At that time, between 1970 and 1973, we regarded the fact that the Popular Unity government came to power as the success of the peoples of the world. We were proud of the fact that the Chilean people had leaders like Comrades Allende and Corvalan who knew what they wanted and were able to influence the people. We were glad that they were able to form the government of unity in which an active role was undertaken by communists, socialists and progressive bourgeois parties and movements. They were able to form a wide-ranging unity which reflected the fact that they had political concepts and ideas, and were able to convince the Chilean people that these political concepts and ideas must be supported even by sacrifices.

We are convinced that the Chilean people, now living in great poverty and deprivation, will not forget what happened between 1970 and 1973. And because they cannot forget, they cannot give up the struggle, we assure the political organizations and the leaders of Chile. We know that in this struggle great trials still await the fighters, and that very great trials await the party, the Communist Party of Chile which, since the first minute of its formation, has aimed at struggling for the independence of the people, at creating the cooperation of progressive political parties and social organizations, at starting Chile off on the path of economic upsurge--Chile whose existence was watched by a number of imperialist and capitalist powers which did everything in their means in those 3 years to hinder what the Popular Unity government placed on its program.

When the government of Chilean Popular Unity and the Chilean Communist Party struggled for the basic interests of the people, they won not only the recognition of the Chileans, but also the sympathy and support of the Hungarian workers movement, the Hungarian party, and all revolutionary groups of the world. Let me tell our Chilean comrades here that in the course of history there have been many attempts to annihilate the communist movement, liquidate the progressive actions and movements, and to exterminate progressive thought. But we say also that all such attempts have so far ended in dismal failure and shameful defeat. This will be the inevitable end of the Chilean fascist regime. In some places and at times the forces of reaction can achieve temporary successes with international support, but they are unable permanently or for a longer period to hold up social progress and its development.

In 1973, international imperialism launched a concerted attack on the constitutional order and lawful government of Chile, and this provoked the indignation and protest of all decent people of the world. Following the fascist coup, an organized and forceful solidarity movement unfolded within a few days in all parts of the world. A significant role in this movement was played by the socialist community and all countries of the socialist world, in the first place the USSR. The forces of socialism have used every means and every possibility, and are still using them, to support the fight of the Chilean people for freedom, and to save the lives of those with whom the military dictatorship wants to stage a showdown. As far as we are able, we will be present everywhere, helping the camp of those fighting against the Pinochet dictatorship. Thus, we have the right to have our say in the shaping of the fate of the world. We have the right because the socialist development of our country proves that we have been able to make good use of the opportunities provided by our freedom.

In Hungary there is order and calm. Our working people regard as their own the tasks set in our plans, and are performing them successfully. The fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan is progressing well, the living standard of our population is rising in accordance with the aims of socialism, and the political unity of our citizens has taken shape, and is growing ever stronger. We are proud that the international labor competition, initiated at Csepel, has assumed international proportions, and that the first step taken in this country is followed by our friends. We are preparing, through more and particularly better work, for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Our people have received with fraternal friendship our Chilean friends who have fled to our country from the dictatorship. The Chileans living here have fitted into the order of our life and are working hard, but have remained loyal sons of Chile. They live among us, but their deeds and wishes indicate that they are ready to do everything for the liberation of their people and country.

A worldwide struggle is in progress against imperialism, exploitation and colonialism. And while there are, and will be, tensions in the world, it is an undoubted fact that the balance of power has shifted permanently and irreversibly in favor of social progress, socialism and the strongholds of peace. The proven strength of socialism constitutes the main basis of change and progress. But the cause of humanity as a whole is served by those communist parties, political organizations and mass movements which exist and grow strong in the capitalist countries, and strive to create socialism for their peoples, too.

The development and progress of the world are served by those forces which in different parts of the world and under difficult circumstances fight for their national freedom and national independence. The mutual solidarity of these three great forces and their joint stand have created favorable conditions for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Angola to attain

and defend their independence and freedom. It is thanks to the international cooperation of peoples that in Europe in 1975 the Helsinki conference came into being, and that the representatives and leaders of 35 countries were there able to sign a final act. The struggle of the peoples of the world made it possible for Europe to live in peace for 32 years, to insure that for 32 years there has been no war on European territory, and the joining of forces by the peoples of the world, and their desire and will for peace make it possible for us to continue the work, of which only the first phase was concluded in 1975 with the signing of the Helsinki final act.

We accepted and put our signatures to the precepts and propositions of the final act in Helsinki in 1975. On our part, it was by no means a formal gesture, as is the case of the governments of certain capitalist countries. We Hungarians and the other socialist countries consider it to be the obligation of our party and government policy alike that the entire population should become acquainted with all the objectives and all the decisions of the document signed in Helsinki, and that we should strive to realize all that we undertook in Helsinki.

Our international relations have expanded since 1975; we have been continuous participants in the discussions and conferences of international bodies; we have introduced travel facilities and, as in the past so in the future, we will make it possible for our people to get to know the lives of other peoples and study the world's progressively inspired cultural creations.

This is what we expect of the governments of capitalist countries. This is what we expect of them because Europe needs peace and cooperation. Our need is for peoples to live in security and without fear. Our need is for everyone to honor the terms of the final act, including with regard to nonintervention in internal affairs.

We draw emphatic attention to this because in the past months some reactionary politicians of capitalist countries have considered it necessary and important to call us to account on the matter of the observance of human rights. They seek to find a violation of human rights where the legal system of people's rule has rendered impossible all forms of capitalist restoration, where the established legal and moral laws and regulations, in accordance with the people's will, are strengthening socialism, excluding oppression, exploitation, and also the possibility of restoring class distinctions.

We reject all efforts at intervention, and we call upon the governments attacking our practice not only to create order in their own backyards, but also to join with us in making a stand against oppressive regimes such as the one which is in power in Chile.

Yes, the peoples of the world must make a common stand against the forces of fascism for the release of those people, those comrades, who are detained

in concentration camps. This has not failed to bring results in the past, it does not fail today, and it will reap success in the future, too. Today, as a result of the stand made by the peoples of the world, we greet here together Comrade Corvalan, who has been released from one of these camps.

Comrade Corvalan withstood the heavy trials following the destruction of the people's power with principled communist conviction and remained in all tribulations what he had been: a communist and a patriot loyal to his people. His unshakable and courageous steadfastness, and the collective stand of the peoples, forced the military junta to retreat, and last year we succeeded in obtaining the release for Comrade Pinochet, the release from the concentration camp into the free world to organize from here the liberation and victory of his people. I noticed, comrades, that I said Pinochet instead of Corvalan, but I hope you will understand [applause] that we have obtained freedom for Comrade Corvalan, and we believe that Pinochet will receive the treatment which we all wish for him. [applause] Comrades, it is right to collect garbage, but it must also be destroyed, because it may spread elsewhere. [applause]

When we welcome Comrade Corvalan in our midst, on behalf of the Hungarian people we respectfully salute the Chilean Communist Party which has been struggling for decades for the freedom of its people; we respectfully salute the organizations of the former parties of the Popular Unity now working in illegality or abroad; we salute the Chileans who look to us expecting encouragement, help and reassurance from us. [applause] After the first Hungarian Republic of Councils which has been lost, a victorious second will follow. It is our communist conviction that the historical prospect is no different in Chile. In Chile, too, a second revolution will come which will definitely, once and for all, bring freedom and independence for the Chileans. [applause]

CSO: 2500

POLAND

EUROCOMMUNISM'S EFFECT ON COMMUNISM AS A WHOLE

Disintegrating Agent

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 2 May 77 pp 166-167 DW

[SPIEGEL essay by Polish philosophy professor Leszek Kolakowski entitled "The Schism Is Still Outstanding"]

[Text] Euro and Asiatic communism--is this one thing or two? In trying to answer this question I proceed from three preconditions.

One: Despotism is not "degeneration" of communism.

So far we have not seen any communism in power other than that of the Leninist-Stalinist totalitarian character. There is no exception to the rule.

Wherever communism has come to power, be it through internal forces or through foreign domination, not only were civil liberties and democratic institutions abolished but a totalitarian form of social organization, too, was imposed--albeit not everywhere with the same success, it must be added for the sake of fairness.

Even though the absolutely perfect totalitarian system, including control of all private human relations by the state, has not been achieved anywhere, the communist form of rule nevertheless has always had the strong and never lapsing tendency to achieve this perfection and nationalize all aspects of life.

The so-called de-Stalinization forced upon the communist states by economic and political necessities did not do away with the totalitarian principle. What we are dealing with in communist countries is not "de-Stalinized" or "democratized" variants of communism, but sick Stalinism.

Two: Communism works according to its own principles.

Correct as the analyses may be which show the significance of the specifically Russian tradition in the organization of Asiatic-communism--meaning the Asiatic-communism of Soviet stamp, the only one which is in power--its original ideology, Leninism, has been totally adapted to its requirements.

It implied--openly, not tacitly--dictatorship exclusively through pure force and not through law. It implied the abolition of the separation of powers and the end of democratic institutions.

It further implied that the abolition of private property is tantamount to the abolition of classes, and that the latter in turn is tantamount to the abolition of conflicts of interests and to the unity of society.

This was completely in line with the Marxist doctrine, which proceeded from the premise that all social conflicts worth mentioning are rooted in the separation of classes and that separation of classes would no longer exist as soon as state ownership of the means of production was established.

This communism further assumed that "negative freedom"--meaning freedom limited to the sphere still left to the individual by the social system--loses every meaning in a classless society, since classless stands for a society reduced to uniformity.

The doctrine proceeded from the premise that the state would take over the centralized control of all means of production and that the rule over the people would be replaced by the "administration of objects." Since, however, the centralized administration of all production processes includes the administration of the workers and, hence, of all people, Marxist communism thus conceived could become only a labor camp.

It is not true at all that historical chance alone was responsible for the actual process which led from the doctrine to its Leninist-Stalinist embodiment, that the doctrine, hence, was innocent and "distorted" as a consequence of a whim of history which chose an unsuited testing ground for its experiment.

Long before history made its allegedly fatal choice of ground on which the new idea was to be applied, many anarchistic authors of the 19th century had recognized that Marxist communism, once applied, would spell state ownership of man and an extremely despotic form of government.

Three: The ideology is dead but indispensable.

In the communist countries of Europe the Communist ideology is practically dead in the sense that nobody, neither the rulers nor the ruled, is taking it seriously any more. It remains, however, absolutely indispensable to the ruling party, since it is the only basis of legitimacy of the one-party tyranny in view of the lack of democratic forms of representation.

The end of the communist creed was the end of the so-called revisionist movement which believed for some time that democratic principles could be restored in the life of society and the spiritual and moral norms within the communist system of thinking and of power.

Today, communism is a matter of power and not of intellectual discussion. Demands for human rights, civil liberties, freedom of voicing one's opinion, education, the solidarity of workers and so forth are no longer raised in the name of a better communism.

The people are thinking in terms of representative democracy, national values, religious ideas, material prosperity, but not at all of a return to "genuine Marxism," let alone to "genuine Leninism."

Since the ruling parties in the Soviet Union and in its East European vassal states are aware of their ideological defeat and seek to establish contacts with the people with the help of nationalist slogans--great-power halo in Russia, fear of Russia in the Soviet protectorates--they themselves are accelerating the disintegration of the entire system.

Thus, nationalist animosities consequently are the most powerful factor in the disintegration of the Soviet sphere of domination, especially since the Soviet Union has failed, despite all efforts, to impose its own system on the dominated countries. Instead, each of these countries has developed certain specific forms of economic and social administration.

To a certain extent these differences are being tolerated as long as one-party despotism is not threatened and Soviet domination is not called in question. Strangely enough, the colonized countries may even have greater economic scope because the communist power there has an ultimate guarantee in the form of Soviet tanks. The Soviet Union itself does not have such a guarantee from outside; there is more at stake for it in the event of a serious crisis.

I am proceeding from the assumption that so-called Eurocommunism constitutes a significant phenomenon in the disintegration of communism and definitely is not a Satanic plot of Moscow. But I do not believe that the question concerning the "sincerity" of the communist leader of Italy is very important for the assessment of the chances of this movement.

There is no reason for doubting that these people mean what they say. Many politicians mean what they say without realizing that their ideas as a whole may be illogical or contradictory.

It is quite believable that Lenin meant what he wrote a few weeks prior to October 1917 in "State and Revolution." And when on the morning of the October Revolution his semianarchistic vision proved to be what it always had been, namely a chimera, it was not because he was lying but because this

vision absolutely could not be realized. There never will be a democracy for the workers as long as society as a whole is deprived of democratic rights.

As regards the Eurocommunist leaders, their position is ambiguous because of what they say and what they do not say. All of them have made the known statements on democratic institutions and they have dropped the slogan of "dictatorship of the proletariat," which means despotism of the party apparatus; they have proclaimed the principle of independence, thereby rejecting Soviet domination over the "movement"; and then they have rejected the Soviet standpoint on some significant issues such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But they are still remaining in the "movement," which is defined by the Soviet imperialist state's overwhelming position of hegemony.

Despite all their splitting tendencies they still seem to answer the following questions in the affirmative:

1. Is there such a thing as an international communist movement to which the PCI belongs on the one hand and the CPSU on the other?
2. Is the Soviet Union despite some "errors" and wrong steps a "higher" form of social organization compared with Western democracies, and does it merit support in the case of a conflict with the latter?
3. Are the Leninist principles of party life really valid?

If the answer of the Italian Communist leaders should be affirmative, there exists no reason to expect that communist rule in Italy--let alone in France--should not be heading for a Soviet kind of despotism, regardless of whether Berlinguer declares representative democracy as being a "strategic" and not a "tactical" principle.

"Tactical" probably means that democratic rules under communist domination should remain valid for a long time and not for a short time. Or does it mean that they will be valid until the following "historic phase" has taken place: until the time when according to Marx' doctrine the domination will change anyway because conditions have become ripe for a change.

The Eurocommunists presently are not in a position (for whatever reason, be it fear of a party split, belief that the schism should take place gradually, be it the various forms of dependence on the Soviets, or be it ideological considerations to openly acknowledge the Soviet state for what it is: not just a class society with an extremely rigid hierarchy of privileges but a despotic, totalitarian, imperialist system which oppresses all spheres of social life, including the political, economic, national, religious, and intellectual spheres.

Is the political, military, and police democracy of the Soviet Union--a concentration of power unmatched in modern history--in the eyes of the Italian Communist leaders a "community of class brothers"?

And what do the Italian Communists think of Marchais's comment, when he said that the East European countries are models of a multiparty system?

The decisive fact is that as long as the schism has not been absolutely implemented politically and ideologically, it will not be up to the Italian Communists, once they are in power, whether they can maintain their independence from the Soviet Union.

If some leaders should be unwilling to accept this dependence they will simply be replaced by other more dependable ones.

The Italian Communists certainly have no illusions about the true character of the Soviet system. And of course Berlinguer is not interested in sharing the fate of Dubcek. But this will not help them if they should take over in the present international situation as a slightly heretic and rebellious but basically loyal member of the same communist fraternal community.

In short, neither the heresy nor the schism have taken place. And as long as this has not happened, the question of which version of communism will prevail in Italy if the communists take over is a question of strength. But in case of a complete and irreversible split, which is possible but not at all certain, one should ask what the word "communism" would mean in contrast to social democracy if those in favor of a schism are loyal to their promise.

So far we have had no empirical proof that democratic communism is possible at all. All existing evidence shows the opposite. But we cannot rule out the possibility that a new variation of a regenerated social democracy will develop from the communist schism.

And yet it looks as if the schism in its present moderate form might exert a certain influence on the disintegration of the communist bloc. The approach of the leading stratum in the Soviet-dominated countries seems to be ambiguous. On the one hand their power depends on Soviet support. They cannot demand sovereignty for their countries because they can survive only as vassals.

But on the other hand they want less and not more Soviet interference in their domestic affairs. So they can sympathize to a certain extent with the autonomy tendencies of Western communist parties. But they can have this sympathy only deep down in their hearts, so that for practical purposes it has little significance.

It must be assumed that the people who do not belong to the system and who are not participating in the quarrel of political cliques are sympathizing

with these new tendencies. Not so much because they share the specific belief of the Eurocommunists, but because they support everything that weakens Soviet omnipotence.

This is why such communist leaders as Dubcek, if they appear under similarly unusual circumstances, can expect wide support. But it does not mean that these people are followers of some "other" communism. What they demand is more freedom.

Soviet State Is Historical Reality

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 16 May 77 pp 169-175 DW

[Answer by Spanish CP chief Santiago Carrillo to the theses advanced by Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski in the SPIEGEL essay of 2 May]

[Text] Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski in a SPIEGEL essay (No 19/1977) had analyzed the Soviet system and Eurocommunism and accorded both a crushing judgment. Spanish CP chief Santiago Carrillo has composed for DER SPIEGEL a reply in which he contradicts Kolakowski.

Thesis: Soviet despotism is not degenerated communism, but communist power had always had the tendency to nationalize all aspects of life, albeit never with full success.

Answer: The state that emerged from the October Revolution hardly resembles the state which Lenin had imagined in his famous book "State and Revolution" --a state without police as an institution and without a professional army. Lenin failed to see that the state of the October Revolution had a task which had not been foreseen by either Marx or Engels: bringing about that accumulation of capital which capitalism had accomplished in the European states and in the United States and which made it possible to industrialize these countries.

The socialist state first had to withdraw the capital needed for industrialization from the standard of living of the peasants and workers. This prevented the standard of living of the workers from rising in a proper way; they were forced to expropriate the small and medium farmers and to put them under pressure, not to speak of the rich farmers.

Thus, a large segment of the people was hostile or indifferent toward the new socialist regime. What was intended as the dictatorship of the vast majority over the small minority of the capitalists therefore became a dictatorship of the state apparatus over the whole people.

I believe that these objective realities which the Russian communists found themselves facing led to a point where it was not a state of proletarian democracy which emerged but a state of the dictatorship of a minority over the entirety of the people, even if this minority believes that it is acting in the name of socialism.

In my opinion the consequence is that this state is not yet the socialist state which Marx, Engels, and no doubt also Lenin had visualized.

Thesis: The so-called de-Stalinization really did not abolish totalitarianism. An ailing Stalinism remained.

Answer: After the 20th CPSU Congress the hope for real democratization was very great temporarily. But what had been begun was not continued. The road toward a democratization of the regime was not kept. I am saying this even though I comprehend quite well that in a country with a tradition such as the Russian one this could not involve a democratization in the Western sense.

It is clear that the socialist democratic state was not achieved in the Soviet Union and that Stalinist methods have survived. A favorable point is that they no longer lead to the same cruelties as in the Stalin period. A negative point is, however, that there is not yet democracy, no possibility of expressing one's ideas, of writing and thinking freely.

No doubt the Soviet Union spends enormous sums on its national defense at the expense of the economic development of the country. The political system in the Soviet Union has become an impediment not only to development of democracy but, in my opinion, also to development of the economy.

For, the capitalist American system nowadays has at least one advantage over the Soviet system: the war industry is the top industry. The most unusual technological and scientific progress is scored in the war industry.

Surely this is so in the Soviet Union, too. But since the United States is a capitalist state the technical progress there is very quickly transferred from the war industry to the rest of the economy. This is not done in the Soviet Union, in contrast, owing to the characteristic features of its system. Technical progress is treated like a state secret, and industry as a whole does not benefit from it.

Thesis: Soviet communism by no means obtained its present features as a result of historical accident. Many anarchist authors of the 19th century already predicted that communism could only appear in Russia in the well-known extremely despotic form.

Answer: I believe that this thesis is absolutely wrong. The dispute between the anarchists and the Marxists of the past century no longer has anything to do with the reality of our century.

The idea that society can be transformed by destroying the state with one single blow, is definitely absurd. On the other hand it is also clear, however, that if Stalin succeeded in coming out the winner over such brilliant men as Trotsky, Sinovyev, Kamyev, and even Lenin, then he did so

because he comprehended better than they did the necessity of the accumulation of capital and sacrificed everything to that necessity.

From practical points of view industrialization was necessary for the state of that time. Without it the Soviet Union would not exist today; rather Hitler would dominate Europe and, to a certain extent, the world.

Ideologically, Stalinism is not a phenomenon symptomatic of Marxism but an objective phenomenon caused by historical circumstances. This was the basis for Stalin's theory.

The Soviet state in the form in which it emerged and developed is not the fruit of an ideology but the fruit of historical reality. It was in great contradiction to those bases which had appeared necessary to the Marxist theoreticians for the triumph of socialism.

Thesis: In the Soviet Union the ideology is practically dead. Nobody takes it seriously any longer. And yet, it is indispensable for the regime because communism is the only basis for its legitimacy.

Answer: The Soviet Marxists ought to have pointed out the difference between the existing socialist state and a real one. Not only the monstrosities committed by Stalin but other objective historical facts, too, should have been used for illucidation. And they could have insured that the prestige of the communist idea remained preserved in the Soviet Union. But it is true indeed that they decided on the easiest road there: passing this state off as the perfect socialist state, even as the beginning of communism. Therein, I believe, lies the error of the Soviet theoreticians.

Theory: The end of the belief in communism simultaneously is also the end of revisionist movements--as represented by Dubcek. It is impossible to implement democratic principles in a communist regime.

Answer: I disagree with this thesis. In my opinion it is clear that the system of the East-bloc countries must be changed in the direction of a democratic socialism.

The East-bloc communism can be changed, and I am convinced that it will be done, too, even though I do not yet know how. The historical development is going in this direction.

Neither do I believe that Dubcek was a mere incident which proved the impossibility of such a change. The Dubcek phenomenon appeared in the CSSR because the CSSR was the most developed among all East-bloc countries and probably most rife for a democratic socialism. If the East bloc develops further economically, the Dubcek symbol will also increase in strength there.

And if socialist forces gain influence in the countries of the West, so that the fear of an aggression by foreign capitalism can no longer be exploited in the East as before, the efforts toward a political change will increase in the East-bloc countries.

For, so far, the rigid and bureaucratic system of the East bloc has always been justified with the argument that the Soviet Union is threatened. Under this argumentation the capitalist states would pounce on the Soviet Union as soon as they were able. And if they have not yet done so, then it is only because they have been incapable of doing it.

Thesis: The powerful in the communist countries are aware of their ideological defeat. They try to establish contact with the people only through nationalist slogans, particularly in the foreign policy field. But this only accelerates the decay of the entire system.

Answer: You cannot put it in such general terms. A socialist state, believing itself surrounded by enemies on all sides, tries to be as strong as possible and appeals to national feelings.

I believe that the danger consists far more in the fact that nationalist propaganda is at the expense of socialist ideas. But I am convinced: if opposition exists against present political forms, it must be a Marxist, a socialist alternative and not a Western trend.

Thesis: Eurocommunism is not a Moscow plot. On the contrary, it contributes to the disintegration of East-bloc communism.

Answer: I can frankly say that it is not the intention of Eurocommunism to undermine or destroy socialism in East bloc countries. Eurocommunism will contribute objectively to the democratization and modification of the East bloc's political system. By a political system I mean a ruling group which controls everything and decides on everything.

In this respect Eurocommunism really has nothing in common with the policy of the Soviet Union. But between this realization and the assumption that Eurocommunism is some sort of Trojan Horse of imperialism which will destroy whatever exists in the way of admittedly imperfect socialism in these countries, there lies a wide gap. I at least do not play that game.

Thesis: The sincerity of Eurocommunist leaders is of little significance for the chances of this movement. Eurocommunist leaders doubtlessly mean what they say, but their ideas are illogical and contradictory. The Eurocommunists are sincere but unrealistic.

Answer: Good Mr Kolakowski did not consider one thing: in our countries communism does not need to bring about the accumulation of capital. Communism does not have to run after a lost past. In our countries communism or socialism will start out from an economic development which permits or even determines that socialism will be completely different here.

If a leftist government in France begins tomorrow to change the society, this government need not first worsen the living conditions of the people. On the contrary, it can improve them right away. For this reason it can remain democratic. A totalitarian state is not necessary at all. Mr Kolaskowski forgets that Eastern socialism has been implemented in countries which in part come from Asiatic feudalism. Our Western socialism, however, comes from developed capitalism.

Thesis: Despite all statements of the Eurocommunists on democracy, on renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the independence principles, and the 1968 events in Prague, all Eurocommunist parties stayed within the international communist movement.

There is an international communist movement. That is correct. It consists of the French, the Italians, of the U.S. of the Soviets and others. But the nature of this movement is changing and will go on changing radically. This movement is not what it used to be. It has become something different. First it was something like an international party. Now it is a meetingpoint where discussions are held and where you oppose and contradict. Evidence of this was supplied at the Berlin conference.

You can see changes in Spain now, for instance. We are nearing the elections and we will partake in them without having a penny. We have no foreign money. The communist movement, which might have supported our election campaign at some time, will not do it this time. We do not want to get any subsidies, because we believe that independence has its price. For the first time in our life we will take Spanish bank credits. This will keep us free of commitments. We have been asked to break off relations with the CPSU. If the socialists and the conservatives of all countries are maintaining always closer relations with the CPSU, why should we break off ours?

Thesis: For the Eurocommunists the Soviet Union is still the highest form of a social organization.

Answer: The October Revolution is for this epoch and for the socialist future of man what the French Revolution was for the bourgeois system in the world, that is, the beginning of a worldwide social change, of a new process. It does not mean that the political regime in the Soviet Union is ideal in its present form, but the regime of the United States is not an ideal regime either.

For me as a Marxist and advocate of socialism it is not a matter of making a choice between individual regimes. For me it is an attempt to build a new political and social regime which will be superior to other regimes. If you look at realities, I do not think the Soviet system is a higher form of social organization, but it still can become a higher form.

Thesis: The borderline between Eurocommunism and social democracy is unclear.

Answer: After the Bad Godesberg conference the Social Democrats wanted to preserve capitalism. The Eurocommunists, however, want to change the capitalist society to a socialist society. In doing this the market would remain a reality. If you wanted to change it today, it would be tantamount to changing the rhythm of the sun. The Marxists in the past believed they must destroy the capitalist state apparatus if they wanted to transform the capitalist society into a socialist society. Today we believe that this state apparatus can be transformed in a democratic way without destroying it all of a sudden. The economic laws are not those of the capitalists. They exist in capitalism and in socialism. Inflation, for instance, today exists in socialist countries too.

Socialism will take the market into consideration for some time because it is a reality. Later on one will achieve a higher level where abundance and rationalization of production will be so great that there will be no need to take the market into consideration when distribution comes up. This is still a dream, but what could be changed even today is capitalist ownership of the major means of production. That would not upset the market economy.

Thesis: So far no convincing evidence has been supplied for the possibility of bringing about democratic communism. All existing evidence proves the contrary. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Eurocommunists will develop to become a new variant of a regenerated social democracy.

Answer: Of course, there exists no evidence yet of that kind of democratic communism we are aiming for. No socialist changes have yet taken place in any evolved society. But this does not prove anything. Today things are being discovered which would have been unimaginable 30, 60 or 100 years ago and for which no evidence existed at that time.

The form of socialism we are aiming for does not yet exist, but it will exist some day. It will not be like the socialism in the countries of the East. Nor will it look like capitalism. It will not be a social democratic variant because, after all, social democracy is capitalism. It will be a variant of socialism, the result of a rapprochement between Eurocommunism and social democratic parties which have been turned into real socialist parties.

I believe that a Marxist-socialist course will develop in Western countries which will be independent of the Soviet Union. I think there will be some sort of rapprochement between Eurocommunists and social democrats. We, the communists, will become more democratic, and they, the social democrats, will become more socialist.

Eurocommunism is a new movement which is developing a critical policy vis-a-vis East bloc socialism, but not from a standpoint maintaining the interests of the imperialist system.

We Eurocommunists want our criticism to make socialist countries overcome their present political system. Our criticism of socialism is not supposed to become a weapon of the imperialist Cold War, as little as we want to use it as a weapon of Cold War against capitalist countries.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU TOASTS CORVALAN AT 24 MAY BUCHAREST DINNER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 May 77 pp 1, 3 AU

[Toast raised by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at official dinner in honor of Chilean Communist Party [PCC] Secretary General Luis Corvalan, on 24 May in Bucharest]

[Text] Dear Comrade Corvalan, dear Comrade Lili Corvalan, dear Chilean comrades, dear comrades.

I have spent a particularly pleasant evening.

I would like to greet Comrade Corvalan, his wife, and the other Chilean comrades, in my own behalf and on behalf of the RCP leadership, and to express our feelings of communist solidarity with the PCC, and with all strugglers against dictatorship and for freedom and democracy.

We are glad that you are among us following the several years you spent in the prisons of the Chilean dictatorship, and your activity under the difficult underground conditions. We know the meaning of prisons and illegal activity, because our party itself had carried out its activity under conditions of illegality and terror for 20 years, and many of our party's militants were imprisoned. We understand very well the meaning of this activity under difficult conditions. Therefore, we particularly appreciate the position and activity of the PCC, which is in the front ranks of the struggle against dictatorship, for its elimination, for democratic freedoms, and for the free and independent development of the Republic of Chile.

I would like to express once more the feelings of solidarity of the Romanian communists and people with the Chilean strugglers, primarily with the communists, and to wish them from the bottom of our hearts full success in their difficult activity.

I would also like to express the hope that, in spite of the terror and difficult conditions in which they are carrying on their activity, they

will succeed in winning complete victory--and we are sure of that--and will succeed in again establishing a democratic government in the country, and insuring conditions for the Chilean people's free and democratic development so as to be able to independently determine the road of their socio-economic development in keeping with their wishes.

The cooperation between our parties is also part and parcel of the international solidarity of all progressive and anti-imperialist parties and forces for the development of peoples along a new road, for eliminating the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy, and for insuring each people's right to freely develop itself, in keeping with its wishes, and to shape its future, in keeping with its desire, without any outside interference. We know that the problems which must be solved in each country and on the international level require the strengthening of the solidarity and unity of all forces, both on the national and international level, from communists to the most diverse forces, including the religious forces which speak out for a new and democratic policy. It is the very unity of these forces on the national and international levels that guarantees domestic democratic changes, the achievement of a new and democratic international policy, and international security, peace, and cooperation.

I raise this glass wishing our Chilean comrades and friends increasingly greater and faster successes in their country's democratic development, in raising the living standard, in insuring their country's independence and sovereignty, and in the struggle for social progress, peace, and democracy on the international level!

I would like to wish Comrade Corvalan, Comrade Lili Corvalan, and the other comrades, much health and success in their activity; I would like to wish the Chilean communists and progressive and democratic forces success and victory in the struggle for democracy and a free and better life! (loud and prolonged applause)

CSO: 2700

MILITARY OFFICERS PROMOTED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECREE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 39, 9 May 77 pp 1, 2

[Presidential Decree on the Promotion of Some Generals and One Rear Admiral and the Granting of the Rank of Major General and Rear Admiral to Some Colonels and Captains First Rank]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The following lieutenant generals are promoted to the rank of colonel general: Lt Gen Vasile Gheorghe Milea, Lt Gen Octavian Ioan Orban, Lt Gen Vasile Victor Petrut, and Lt Gen Ion Ion Popescu.

Article 2--The following major generals are promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Maj Gen Paul Romano Cheler, Maj Gen Ovidiu Iancu Diaconescu, Maj Gen Gheorghe Dumitru Enciu, Maj Gen Gheorghe Ilie Gomoiu, Maj Gen Mircea Neculai Mocanu, Maj Gen Gheorghe Dumitru Moga, Maj Gen Horea Alexandru Morariu, Maj Gen Nicolae Gheorghe Plesita, Maj Gen Stelian Ion Popescu, Maj Gen Nicolae Marin Stan, Maj Gen Emil Stefan Stefanescu, Maj Gen Tiberiu Spiridon Urdareanu, and Maj Gen Iulian Nicolae Vlad.

Article 3--Rear Admiral Sebastian Gheorghe Ulmeanu is promoted to the rank of vice admiral.

Article 4--The following colonels are promoted to the rank of major general: Col Epifanie Anania Amohnoae, Col Aurel Gheorghe Andrei, Col Marin Gheorghe Balteanu, Col Valeriu Sandu Buzea, Col Ilie Andruta Ceausescu, Col Nicolae Vasile Eftimescu, Col Gheorghe Stefan Florea, Col Ion Ilie Floorea, Col Cristian Cumitru Gheorghe, Col Anton Voican Gheorghiu, Col Gheorghe Dumitru Ionita, Col Constantin Stan Micu, Col Vasile Dumitru Moise, Col Constantin Vasile Nuta, Col Ioan Constantin Pantilimonescu, Col Constantin Constantin Perianu, Col Alexandru Grigore Popescu, Col Aurel Dumitru Simionescu, Col Nicolae Florea Soare, Col Dumitru Iancu Tabacaru, Col Romulus Ion Ularu, Col Gheorghe Alexandru Vasile, and Col Gheorghe Gherghe Zagoneanu.

Article 5--The rank of rear admiral is given to the following captains first rank: Captain First Rank Neculai Gheorghe Harjau and Captain First Rank Aurelian Petru Ionescu.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
President of the Socialist Republic of
Romania

Bucharest, 7 May 1977

No 127

CREATIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5-6, Mar 77 pp 32-35

[Article by Ion Mitran: "Creative Power of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] In discussions of modern ideas it is difficult to find a political concept so much in dispute as that of democracy. This fact is the natural and understandable expression of a dynamic social-political reality, strongly marked by the historical process of worldwide transition to the new order of socialist society at rates and by ways and means characteristic of various regions and countries of the world. Characterized as it is by the search for the best ways of mass participation in social management and fulfillment of the highest aspirations to freedom and progress, this evolution is inherently subject to the confrontation of diametrically opposed social-political realities. Therefore the discussions of the concept of democracy, so far from being impractical scholastic speculations or attempts to formulate more or less academic definitions can only reflect, directly or indirectly, definite political policies, purposes and practices. In the last analysis the heart of the dispute is how far the theory corresponds to actual practice, to the security of true human rights and freedoms, and to the institutional framework and the objective and subjective conditions that enable the masses to assert themselves without restriction in social-political affairs.

If among the many implications of the dispute we consider the ultimate aim of democracy, namely the humanistic outlook, we are surely on the ground where socialist democracy can fully assert its potential superiority, since the reality upon which it is founded consists of the reforms that have radically changed and continue to enhance (as contrasted with the past and the social-political world based on exploitation) the workers' creative role in socioeconomic development and in planning the social future and achieving it as such. There is no question that one of the distinctive characteristics of democracy based on socialist principles is its constructive, creative power.

Integration of Democracy and Socialism

Our party's policy and practice are clearly in accord with the principle that socialist revolution and construction are intended to liberate men from any exploitation or oppression and permit the use of all resources of economic and

social progress for the benefit of the entire nation and consequently of each of its citizens. This profoundly humanistic social outlook is objectively determined by the aims of the new order, of which the supreme social value is the individual.

There are numberless and conclusive proofs that our socialist policy and socioeconomic development fully serve the ideals of the workers' material and cultural progress. This is evidenced beyond a doubt by the action taken by the party, its administration under Nicolae Ceausescu, and the party and state organs at the time of the natural disaster in the beginning of March. They succeeded in controlling the situation and took decisive, organized and efficient action so that in only a few days after the disaster most of its physical effects were remedied and in general the normal course of life was restored. The entire nation's efforts are definitely and quite successfully concentrated upon rapid elimination of the results of the earthquake, uninterrupted implementation of the program for national socioeconomic development, and improvement of the people's living standard.

Socialism grants the working people every right to knowingly determine their present and future and to freely enjoy the fruits of their labor because it eliminates economic and social class inequalities by abolishing the exploitation of man by man and establishing the workers' power and public ownership of the means of production. This secures the indispensable condition for true democracy.

On the level of historical development, the quantitative and qualitative accumulations of socialist revolution and construction and the new social experience will demonstrate the profoundly human values of socialist democracy and its superiority over previous types of political systems for the most part limited to the declaration of certain human rights with no provision for the material conditions or the social framework essential to their exercise by the masses.

As the RCP Program points out, "The facts show that there can be no true democracy where there are antagonistic social classes, exploiters and exploited, or economic, social and national inequality." (1) It is under these conditions today in the capitalist countries that the social and production relations, in serious conflict with the developmental stage of the productive forces and the progress of the technical-scientific revolution, are having their effect upon the main aspects of social activity and political organization and tending to subordinate their instruments of power everywhere. Despite its progress in abolishing feudal privileges, bourgeois democracy has inevitably reached an impasse, a perpetual attempt to "adjust" to reality by alternating between the formal declaration of citizens' rights and their more or less disguised annulment, between demagogic, publicized support of the ideals of freedom and curtailment of individual freedoms and human values. Politicians, sociologists and philosophers, some of whom moreover take anticommunist stands out of fear of the influx of the constantly growing social movements that are making some progress in the expansion of democratic rights, are expressing their concern about the direction the democracy of the so-called "free world" is taking and advancing hypotheses and theories that partly supplement each other or often contradict each other.

Some of the theories developed by these authors clearly declare the formal nature of bourgeois democracy and the fact that it has brought about a political alienation as the masses of citizens become a "maneuverable electoral body," so far from fulfilling "their responsibility as repositories of national sovereignty" as Claude Julien for example writes in a work significantly entitled "The Suicide of the Democracies." Social-political affairs in the capitalist world are increasingly characterized by depersonalization of human relations and alienation of a huge portion of the population from the problems of economic administration and social management, replaced by what Marx predicted to be the "illusion of the bourgeois state," which would profess to solve human problems while actually crushing the human personality on a mass scale.

There are also more and more studies and analyses which, in noting certain malfunctions of monopolist capitalism, warn against the drastic and critical effect of the encroachments of the big corporations upon the whole social structure and the patterns of labor organization, to the effect that "The extent to which social justice is an efficient guide to policy is largely a matter of the political structures," which structures have produced more or less sophisticated forms of "corrective authoritarianism." As the same author writes, these "patterns" are not solutions to the problems that have arisen but rather expedients to repress the inherent conflicts in the developed class structure." (2)

As a legacy of historical values, democracy finds in socialism its prospects of real and gradual implementation of social and individual rights and freedoms. "The rights of man," a variable concept interpreted and sometimes noisily agitated by a propaganda confined to its own preconceived political illusions and ideas, cannot be regarded "in general" as an abstract one. Any specific analysis of these rights (such as individual freedom, equality, access to education, development of aptitudes and creative capacities) reveals that many of them are still mere ideals, although they are officially recognized by constitutions, because permanent economic inequality inevitably intervenes under the conditions of capitalism.

The RCP Program

As the RCP Program states, "Socialist humanism regards man as a social being in close contact and interdependence with his neighbors and the masses. It is based upon collaboration and mutual respect among all members of society, upon prohibition of any exploitation or oppression, upon equality, and upon the freedom of the individual to purposefully assert his personality and to determine his own future. Socialist humanism requires the achievement of individual happiness in the context of the happiness of the entire people."

Integration of Democracy and Socialism (Continued)

By its use of progressive democratic traditions, national and universal, socialist society presents the social conditions and the methods to exceed the limitations of the old democracies and to radically renovate democracy so as to lend substance to the people's participation in the determination of their own fate.

The basic factors in our new democracy are socialist, state and cooperative ownership of the means of production and the entire national wealth and the

consequent distribution of the national income in accordance with socialist ethics and justice. Essentially, socialist democracy is the political power of the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and other categories of workers, which offers the real, materially guaranteed possibility of the people's participation in the management of society. This, as a matter of fact, is the basic difference between bourgeois democracy (founded upon capitalist power and ownership, upon exploitation of the workers, and upon a profoundly unequal distribution of the national income) and socialist democracy, wherein the national wealth and political power belong to the people and distribution is based upon the principle "from each according to ability, to each according to work."

The new order combines conditions for development in all directions, including that of its intensified and perfected democratism, achieving truly equal political, economic and social human relations in their close unity and interdependence for the first time in history.

The Documents of the 11th Party Congress approach in depth, both theoretically and practically, the problems of our intensified socialist democracy as a decisive factor for the all-around development of the new order and the progress of modern Romanian society.

The increasingly intensive participation of the masses in social management involves new qualitative characteristics apparent in all social activities, including the production of material goods. The party's measures for this purpose have promoted ways and means of combining the centralized direction of all economic activity with the economic units' exercise of extensive functions and powers, and the development of the producer units' autonomous economic administration with the widespread encouragement of their initiatives. The basic institutions of our socialist democracy and the workers' general assemblies provide a suitable framework for the use of collective initiative and skills in solving the problems in connection with accelerating the growth rates or mobilizing and utilizing all the forces and resources to meet the objectives of the uniform national plan. It is on the democratism that characterizes our economic production relations formed and consolidated on the basis of socialist ownership that the power and superiority of our social system depend.

Through its coordinations that constantly contribute to constructive social activity, the system of socialist democracy permits the active integration of workers, peasants and intellectuals in social management as a whole. The workers' councils, other forms of direct mass participation in socioeconomic affairs, and the principle of collective labor and management lend a uniform organizational structure to the system of socialist democracy while diversifying it at the same time.

On the principles of consultation of the masses in the preparation of major decisions and laws and the necessity of public discussions, the RCP Program calls for the regular organization of subject conferences to consider various political, economic, scientific and social-cultural problems. Designed to contribute to the utilization of every citizen's initiative, collective experience, and the people's creative capacity and energy, this method is graphically illustrated by the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture and the

National Conference of Workers' Control Units. Moreover the recent founding of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils as a permanent deliberative organ contributes to the harmonious combination of central and local activity, better analysis, and the adoption of regulatory enactments that will help to solve the major problems of the socioeconomic development of counties, cities and communes.

By its nature socialist democracy includes the function of control as a major lever for social productivity. This is based upon our society's social-political structure itself and upon the workers' capacity as both owners and producers, and the workers are accordingly expected to check the use of society's resources in every collective and throughout the economy as a whole. Exercised in various forms and with the workers' growing participation, control also provides them with a means of learning the problems of socioeconomic development and helps to promote the best ways of applying party and state decisions and the laws of the land. As an integral part of social management control also helps to prevent abuses and to combat and eliminate tendencies toward bureaucracy, any illegalities, and instances of dishonesty and nepotism. Under the "headlight" of control by the people, instituted by society, socioeconomic development is increasingly subject to the greater influence of the working masses as authors of the preparation and accomplishment of the aims of socialist progress.

Our society accordingly intends all workers as the actual wielders of political power (the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all categories of workers) to take an active part in social management.

The Human Condition of Socialist Democracy

The major aims of the construction of our fully developed socialist society, scientifically substantiated in the RCP Program, have opened up prospects of a task of vast proportions that is inconceivable without the direct and creative contribution of the masses and the utilization of the energies and initiative of the entire people. Whereas in our party's view the primary importance of the material factors and the objective ones in general are to be by no means underrated, it is also apparent that in the present period the role of the subjective factors is immeasurably increasing and the creative power of the masses must necessarily be developed. The qualitative demands upon the productivity of the people's participation in social-political activity are based upon the humanistic aims of the party's policy. The provision that "The development of socialist democracy will stimulate and make better use of the masses' energies and creative spirit and will provide the necessary climate for the full assertion of the human personality and the faster progress of society as a whole" (3) is quite realistic as regards social-political action and profoundly humane from this point of view.

Of course this climate is the result of the material reforms, the establishment and perfection of socialist production relations, and the institution and exercise of the basic rights and freedoms that actually constitute the human condition of socialist democracy. The citizens' effective participation in socioeconomic and political affairs originates in a revolutionary social reality.

Against the background of the historic victory of socialism, the stability of democracy is expressed by the actual exercise of the rights which alone can lend dignity to the individual and awareness of the values of which he has often been deprived. It is a question of course of the right to work, rest, material security, education and the free use of his mother tongue, and the right to elect and be elected to social organs and bodies and to join various organizations and associations or, in short, to assert himself freely in accordance with his own aspirations and the objective trend toward social progress. Such actual political, economic and social rights (which have become an everyday fact and liberated the worker long ago from concern for the morrow and job insecurity) intensify the creative power of the masses and provide a fruitful background for the inestimable values of the human personality.

Socialism in its truly humane nature and essence is achieved by securing its citizens' extensive rights and freedoms, enforcing the standards of socialist ethics and justices as well as the principles of humanism, and by promoting respect for the individual.

Awareness of the integral relationship between social rights and duties was strikingly brought out by the instances of socialist solidarity and the initiatives of mutual aid taken by the working masses in the most various ways on the occasion of the earthquake on 4 March. All these represent a new and powerful manifestation of the spirit of solidarity and friendly mutual aid characteristic of our society and the relations established in the new order as an increasingly striking assertion of the principle of the new, revolutionary humanism and socialist ethics and justice.

As Nicolae Ceausescu commented at the press conference with foreign and Romanian journalists on 10 March 1977, "Socialist construction has led not only to the development of the economic base, but also to the development of a new awareness and the spirit of solidarity among citizens. The entire people are convinced that all that is done in Romania is for their welfare and happiness and that Romania's whole domestic and foreign policy serves the general national development and the achievement of better living conditions for workers from every standpoint. Our entire people are convinced that the RCP is the only party in the nation's history that has made every effort to give Romania dignity and independence and the Romanian people a worthy, free and abundant life. This has given our people the strength they need to overcome any hardships."

It is realized that an essential feature of socialist democracy is the purposeful discipline that will closely unite the efforts to achieve its intended goals. Our party feels that widespread observance of the laws, effective manifestation of civic freedoms, and intensified perfection of socialist democracy require everyone's sense of social responsibility for the general interests of society and awareness of everyone's duty to make every effort on behalf of the entire people's welfare and prosperity and the cause of socialism and communism. It is accordingly clear that in view of the aims of national socioeconomic development and the difficulties caused by the earthquake early in March, the better we work in all fields, the more we produce more cheaply, and the greater our labor productivity, the more secure the growth of the national wealth and the entire people's greater welfare will be.

Everyone's fulfillment of his obligations, respect for the law, and enforcement of legality guarantee implementation of the principles of socialist democracy. The idea of supremacy of the law and its binding quality upon all state organs and public organizations and all citizens has been elevated to the status of a constitutionally guaranteed principle and enforced as such. In our society the laws consecrate the basic values of society and all the people's gains. They defend the democratic rights and freedoms, define the social framework of every citizen's activity, and protect the individual and the community from any violation of the social order or any impairment of the human personality. In this light, development of socialist democracy is closely related to elimination of subjective and arbitrary elements. As we know, the party resolutely combatted the abuses and violations in a certain period of the democratic evolution of our society, convinced that the inexhaustible sources of the vitality and dynamism of the new order lie in its capacity to implement a higher type of democracy.

The efficient functioning of all the powers of socialist democratism ultimately depend upon all-around improvement of social relations, relations among people and relations between the individual and the community.

Socialism is a society of the broadest rights but also one of purposeful, voluntarily assumed duties, obligations and responsibilities. Socialist democracy is incompatible with any manifestation of anarchy or any violation of the standards of social coexistence or the laws of the land. Petty bourgeois liberalism, ideas of so-called "absolute freedom" without limits, and narrowly individualistic attitudes ignoring society's general interests have nothing in common with true democracy. Sometimes abroad we find "advocates" fond of idleness and parasitism who tendentiously distort the facts and consider criticism by socialist society of isolated instances of liberalism and some individuals' antisocial acts as an infringement of democracy and a violation of the rights of man. Such "pillars" of rectitude and leaders of a pretended "total freedom" in which they themselves do not believe could be answered in the words of our great national poet Mihail Eminescu: "There is neither freedom nor culture without work. Who thinks he has replaced work, and consequently freedom and culture, by professing a series of phrases is among the parasites of human society..."

Participation in the purposeful development of society demands of its members knowledge of the directed phenomena and the social laws as well as a high sense of civic and social responsibility. Our party's idea that construction of the new order is the fruit of the activity of the masses lends the political category of participation the significance of the deliberate commitment and direct contribution of people, according to the training and skill of each, to socioeconomic and cultural activity and the construction of a higher civilization. Actually the workers' active presence in all social activity and especially the economic field (a telling test of democracy) heavily depends upon each one's rising standard of culture and awareness and of ideological and occupational training. To this effect, in stating that enhancement of socialist democracy is a basic aim of Romania's present historical stage, the RCP Program points out that this historical process is intensified as the workers' ideological background and professional competence improve and their horizon of knowledge expands.

A dialectical, dynamic reflection of revolutionary reforms, advanced awareness comes of the diligent search for knowledge and truth, the active, creative and critical attitude toward one's own and one's neighbors' behavior, interest in the new, and communist devotion to the ideals of the new order. For society and each of its members, advanced awareness is a source of energy and social initiative, while the socialist attitude toward work and its quality, public property, and social and family duties, proper understanding of the relation between rights and obligations, and combatting waste, bad discipline, bureaucracy, parasitism and individualistic tendencies are also ways of constantly improving the mechanism and structures of socialist democracy.

Our whole educational system is carrying out the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, which convincingly indicates the primary importance that is attached to the formation of the new man and the conditions of his creative role in society. Purposeful participation in the management of society and public affairs and the development of socialist awareness harmoniously supplement each other and are directly reflected in the fulfillment of economic tasks, in the results obtained in industry, agriculture, investments and all fields of activity, and in the economic spirit and concern for public property.

The constructive, creative capacity of our socialist democracy is strikingly illustrated by the action the party organs and organizations, the trade union, youth and women's organizations and the agencies of the Socialist Unity Front have been taking to increase production and to mobilize the entire people in the efforts to overcome Romania's hardships and to fully implement the party's program.

The security of the democratic freedoms and the creation of social-political conditions that will open up a broad field for assertion of the human personality are essentially characteristic of social progress and form the background for exploiting the inestimable values of the human personality. The history of mankind tells us that democracy in general, and so also socialist democracy, are not automatically instituted all at once in the fullness of their forms and methods. Socialist production relations and public ownership of the means of production do not produce socialist ethical relations mechanically and by themselves but offer the material base and the necessary ground favorable to such relations. Socialist democracy is real and perfectible, since it emanates from equitable social relations and a living social organism which, under party leadership, realistically evaluates its gains as well as its difficulties and contradictions, consciously militating to limit their scope and to prevent any bad consequences. Profound understanding of the meaning and purpose of the masses' active participation in socioeconomic activity and implementation of the ideals of the new order fully reveal the nature of socialist democracy as a living form of humanism in action.

Socialist production relations, subject in their turn to a process of continuing perfection, fully permit the use of all the resources of economic and social progress and their exploitation for the benefit of the whole nation and consequently every citizen. On this basis, intensified democracy is the source of the constant consolidation of socialist society and the guarantee of its victorious advance toward the communist future.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism," Political Publishing House, 1975, pp 130-131.
2. Robert W. Cox, "The Labor Force and Multinational Corporations," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, January 1976.
3. "The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism," p 133.

5186

CSO: 2700

INDEPENDENCE, NONINTERFERENCE STRESSED

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 21 Apr 77 pp 4-5

[Article by Eugeniu Obrea: "Independence and Noninterference in Internal Affairs--Basic Principles in the Establishment of European Security"]

[Text] At a time in which we are turning to history in order to evoke the gaining of state independence, the sacrifices made, a century ago, in order to acquire it, the sacrifices that the endless struggle to defend the national being and to affirm its identity in the concert of sovereign nations presupposed, the Romanian people are, naturally, concerned with the prospects of the process of the establishment of security and cooperation in Europe, a process whose development is conditioned, in its essence, by the respecting of national independence and sovereignty, an inexhaustible source of impulses toward fruitful cooperation, on a continental and world scale, for the deepening of detente--a sine qua non for forging a better and righter world.

The 10 principles elaborated in Helsinki and Geneva, included in the final document in the form of a declaration concerning the principles that must govern the mutual relations between the states of the continent, represent the basis, the indispensable building blocks, for the establishment of European security and cooperation. They are assembled, organically connected, into a whole that does not admit of division into fragments. One can regard as a leading virtue of the general European dialog that one of there being established, clearly and precisely, the framework of principles for cooperation between independent nations, possessors of all of the attributes of sovereignty, and of there being substantiated the need for new relations, with a deeply democratic essence, between the states of Europe. Sanctioned by the most authorized signatures of the 35 states that were at the negotiating table, these principles are meant to shape, in the interdependence of their provisions, not only a new spirit in the relations between the countries of the continent, a conception in accord with the realities of the present, but also another method of practical approach to the problems,

having as an essential premise the full independence of each nation. Generally speaking, independence is the "framework idea" of the final Helsinki document, the idea meant to fertilize the complex innovative process on whose course Europe has set out.

We are not people with delusions: we did not believe that a single conference would resolve all the files accumulated, that the signing of a document, no matter how valuable it may be, is equivalent to the finalization of a long-lasting process. The final Helsinki document did not represent an end point. This moment, with unquestionable significances, meant just a beginning. That is, a beginning of a course on which it is necessary to advance perseveringly, a beginning that requires continuity. This is the perspective from which we view the upcoming meeting in Belgrade. "We are giving great attention to implementing the documents adopted in Helsinki with regard to security and collaboration in Europe," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out. "In this regard we feel that it is necessary to prepare as well as possible the meeting this year in Belgrade, which not only must constitute an occasion for taking stock of what was done but also must establish new measures for the implementation of these documents, for the achievement of wide collaboration, for the strengthening of security and peace in Europe and throughout the world."

More than 20 months have passed since the signing of the final Helsinki document--a period filled with events, a period, of course, short in the passage of time, but sufficient for drawing a number of lessons. Some forward steps have been taken--however, too few in relation to the requirements of the present situation and the hopes of the peoples. Life has demonstrated, once again, that it is not enough to sign a document, to concur with noble principles. Agreement between the proclaimed principles and the concrete acts is vital. Any lack of agreement between word and deed entails irreparable breaches. The lessons of the past are too many to permit oblivion to settle over them, or to be able to overlook the negative recurrences in the contemporary age.

In a world that is experiencing deep alterations and essential changes in the ratios of force, in an era defined by the strong assertion of the will of the peoples for self-determination, the democratization of international relations has ceased to any longer be an abstract subject of academic colloquiums. Progress toward detente, and the resolution of the complicated files of the present day, put on the agenda the requirement of the restructuring of interstate relations--between the developed countries and those in the "Third World," between all the states of the world, an especially urgent requirement because in Europe there are states with different levels of development, including developing states. The democratization of these relations implies, above all, the condition of independence, from which there follows that of full equality between partners.

The key problem of European security and cooperation is that of guaranteeing for each state on the continent--regardless of social order, territorial

dimensions, military potential or level of economic development--the possibility of developing freely and sovereignly, in conformity with its will, safe from any act of force, from any form of interference or pressure. According to the Romanian concept, it is necessary to provide such relations in Europe that each nation can participate with equal rights in solving all the problems, has independence and sovereignty provided, and fully possesses the benefits of economic and social development, of progress and civilization. No country and no people can secure their own well-being and happiness if they do not respect the independence, the right to well-being and happiness of the other countries and peoples.

Between respect for the independence of each state and the forging of European security there is an indestructible correlation. There can be no question of full independence without true security, just as the idea of European security would be void of content if the states of the continent could not exercise, without any diminution, their prerogatives of national independence and sovereignty. A Europe of security and cooperation must be a Europe of independent nations. The principle of sovereignty has a universal validity and applicability, without restrictions in time and space. The Helsinki document is explicit: "The participating states will each respect the sovereign equality and the individuality of the other, as well as all the rights which are inherent in sovereignty and which their sovereignty contains, including in particular each state's right to legal equality, to territorial integrity, and to political freedom and independence. In addition, they will each respect the other's right to freely choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural system, as well as the right to establish its laws and regulations."

National independence, as an essential component of European security and cooperation, pervades the entire Helsinki document. No chapter of the final document, no provision of it, and none of the "baskets" elude the idea of respect for each state's sovereign right to decide freely, without outside coercion, on the matters that affect its interests. Conceived as a unified whole, as a construction whose solidity consists in its integrality, the document--a result of long and detailed preparation--to which socialist Romania made an active contribution, defined by a constructive spirit, incorporates obligations assumed by agreement which do not admit of equivocation. They are obligations before the consciousness of the peoples, and precisely this feature confers on them a special force. A complex of basic measures, in the major sections: political, economic, military, and cultural and humanitarian--this document is inseparable from the new principles of relations between states. The value of the measures advocated in each section can be real only under the conditions of unaltered preservation of the whole picture. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, to consider one or another of the provisions more important or less important than the others means to reduce, in the long run, the value of the document signed in Helsinki. In the name of one principle or one provision, it is not possible to renounce the others, just as nothing, absolutely nothing--whether it is a question of military or political pretexts, whether it is a question of

justifications of any other nature--can permit violations of the principles of the final document. The principles of the "decalog" and the provisions of all of the chapters have an unlimited sphere of application: with regard to all and under any circumstance. The European states have assumed the obligation to promote them in the relations between them and with the other states. Romania has demonstrated--in this regard, too--exemplary fidelity. This is shown by, among other things, the joint solemn declarations, documents of a new kind, which were signed at the highest level with scores of states in Europe and on other continents and which proclaim the solemn pledge to militate steadily to establish the new relations, whose keystone consists of national independence and its natural expression--the rejection of any interference. They are documents whose reverberation certifies the strong current of public opinion in favor of permanent abolition of the practices of the past (unfortunately, with recurrences even nowadays)--imperialist practices of interference in the affairs of other peoples.

An examination of the realities reveals the fact that the absence of better results in attaining the objectives established in Helsinki has an essential cause in the lack of the full, effective establishment of the new principles in inter-European relations and that the application of these principles, in a generalized and uniform manner, is overdue and is encountering resistance. The verbal adhesion to national independence is unanimous, but noninterference in the affairs of other countries has not become a strictly respected rule. Arbitrary rankings of the problems, in accordance with artificial criteria that contrast with the norms of international law, and conditions that harm the national prerogatives cause astonishment.

It goes without saying that interference can only impede the process of the achievement of European security and that it has nothing in common with the promotion of detente. Interference in the internal affairs of other states can only endanger the fragile beginning to detente. The uproar produced in the West with regard to so-called "rights of man," with the peripheral character of the aspects in question being ignored, and the defamatory campaigns with which professionals of betrayal are associated represent a distortion of the spirit of the Helsinki document. Those who are exhibiting tolerance toward the revival of the revanchist, neo-Nazi circles are finding for themselves an odd "humanitarian" vocation, when it is a question of preaching the recruitment of cheap labor in other countries, and are rushing into practices that bring to mind the inglorious years of the "cold war." The diversionary character of these campaigns is not difficult to grasp--they are an attempt to divert the attention of their own peoples from the serious phenomena of an incurable economic and political crisis, of inflation and unemployment, of acute problems that, indeed, must be placed in the sphere of the humanitarian.

In his recent speech at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee, the Grand National Assembly, the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, and the central party and state active, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the attempts to incite Romanian citizens to leave their

homeland are regarded as an unfriendly attitude toward Romania. "This is why," the chief of the Romanian state said, "our government decisively rejects such actions, considering them serious interference in the internal affairs of Romania. And we will not allow this of anyone!" Romania has demonstrated, through its international political development, that it wants to collaborate with all states, regardless of social order, but it must be clear that it has not allowed and will not allow anyone, in any form, to interfere in its affairs.

Noninterference in internal affairs is a basic condition for the achievement of real progress in the direction of detente, of security and cooperation on the continent. Respect for national sovereignty cannot be separated from the renunciation of outside pressure and coercion and the older or newer forms of interference. The evolution of events strikingly reveals this reality, and the ignoring of it has only negative consequences.

The European states are entitled to a climate in which no country, no people can any longer be the victim of any foreign aggression or interference. Precisely this vital requirement of the present has caused Romania to propose the concluding of a general European pact in which all the states that were present at the Helsinki Conference take part and which establishes the pledge to renounce the use of force and the threat of force, as well as the pledge of the states that possess nuclear arms to not use them, in any form, against other states or groups of states. This is a lucid proposal that confers firm support on noninterference in the affairs of other states.

Security and cooperation are the two inseparable aspects of the goal of the process started in Helsinki. Security presupposes the elimination of the material and moral factors that infringe upon the life of the peoples, endangering their independent, peaceful development. Security implies a body of measures whose efficiency is conditioned by cooperation that must become practically unlimited. The basis is the same: independence, real equality, noninterference. Cooperation can be wide only if the discrimination is abolished, if the barriers are eliminated, and if mutual advantage and the laws of equity are taken into account.

Romania is approaching the problems of the upcoming meeting in Belgrade in a constructive manner, it being convinced that animosities must not put their imprint on this meeting. The success of the meeting in the Yugoslav capital--a stage on the way to implementing the final Helsinki document--is inconceivable without sincere efforts meant to eliminate the tensions, to remove from the grounds of cooperation the obstacles that still exist. The dialog in Belgrade can and must become a stimulative factor for the deepening of a complex process, for the consolidation of detente in Europe and in the world, for new forward steps toward the objectives defined jointly by the 35 states that signed the Helsinki document.

Through its most authorized voice, from the rostrum of the joint session of the highest forums of our party and state, socialist Romania addressed a

solemn appeal to the governments, the parliaments, the advanced political and social forces, and the peoples on the continent, to make, together, new and persevering efforts, in a spirit of wide cooperation and understanding, to take new steps in the direction of fulfilling the obligations assumed in Helsinki and the principles of the final document and to adopt new firm and efficient measures in the direction of the intensification of inter-European collaboration, military disengagement on the continent, and the creation of a climate of complete sincerity, in which all nations can develop freely and work together to provide lasting peace. An appeal springing from reason and addressed to the reason of all of Europe, a call to understand the realities, the imperatives of a crucial moment for the destiny of the continent.

The future of Europe can be built through the combined action of all the peoples in this region of the world, performed under the auspices of real equality, of national independence and sovereignty, of noninterference--substantial, intangible and inseparable components of security and cooperation on the continent.

12105

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ROMANIA

BUCHAREST SEMINAR ON CADRE TRAINING FOR AFRICANS

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 26 Apr 77 p 10

[Article on bilateral seminar, Bucharest, April 1977: "The Formation of National Cadres--An Important Factor in Doing Away With Underdevelopment and Ensuring Economic and Social Progress"]

[Text] Last week a bilateral seminar was held in the capital city on the theme "The Formation of National Cadres--An Important Factor in Doing Away With Underdevelopment and Ensuring Economic and Social Progress"; it was organized by the Union of Student Communist Associations of Romania, the Center for Research Into Problems of Youth, and AASU [All-African Students Union].

Within the framework of the AASU delegation, the work of the seminar was participated in by representatives of student organizations from Cameroon, Congo, Ghana, Tanzania, and also Namibia (Section for students affiliated with SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]). The Somalian Students Union sent a message of greeting to the seminar.

Also taking part in the seminar as observers were representatives of the International Students Union, The Asian Students Association, the Latin American Continental Students Organization, and the UNESCO European Center for Higher Education.

At the inaugural session a talk was given by Ion Sasu, chairman of UASCR [Union of Student Communist Associations of Romania], the director of the Center for Research Into Problems of Youth, Suzana Gadea, minister of education and instruction, and Kwamena Aaquuah, secretary of the AASU.

During 2 days, seminar participants discussed the following themes: "The Formation of National Cadres--An Important Factor in Doing Away With Underdevelopment, Ensuring Social Progress, and Creating a New International Economic Order," "The Role and Activity of Students and Student Organizations in Improving and Modernizing Instruction in Conformity With the Exigencies of the Economic and Social Development of Every Nation," and "International Cooperation and Solidarity Among Students in the Process of Forming National Cadres and Accelerating the Progress of the Developing Countries."

The discussions manifested a broad unity of viewpoint among the participants in discussion with respect to a number of essential problems affecting the developing countries, the young people of these countries, emphasizing that the formation of national cadres constitutes an important factor in doing away with the phenomenon of underdevelopment and ensuring socioeconomic progress in every nation, also creating a new international political and economic order. Attention was focused on the important role assigned to students in this complex process.

The discussions stressed the substantial contribution of the younger generation, of studious young people who are marching in the front ranks of the nations' efforts for social and economic progress, the important role played by the solidarity of the developing nations, and the solidarity of student organizations in mapping out a firm course of action aimed toward detente, understanding, and cooperation in the world.

The bilateral seminar in Bucharest constituted one more occasion for reaffirming the solidarity of students and young people in Socialist Romania with the struggle of young people and students in the developing countries seeking progress and a better and more just world. Representatives of AASU demonstrated solidarity with the efforts of the Romanian people and all our country's young people in overcoming the consequences of the earthquake that took place in early March.

The AASU delegation expressed their feelings of sympathy and appreciation for the socioeconomic transformations which socialist Romania is undergoing today, for the activities carried on by the Romanian people, guided by the RCP and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, aimed toward our country's steady advancement along the road of civilization and progress. The AASU delegation expressed warm appreciation for the support provided by the Romanian Socialist Republic to African countries in training national cadres, emphasizing admiration for the experience achieved by our country in improving instruction and integrating it with research and production.

The seminar occasioned a broad exchange of ideas, opinions, and experiences on the part of student organization representatives, an open, constructive, and fruitful dialogue promoting better mutual understanding. During the seminar it was emphasized that the phenomenon of underdevelopment cannot be done away with, that real socioeconomic progress cannot be realized by the nations without radical changes in the system of international relations, without the creation of a new international economic and political order, without respect for the inalienable right of every nation to freely decide its own path of development consistent with its own interests. Also emphasized in this context was the importance of implementing concrete measures toward disarmament, in particular nuclear arms, toward international cooperation, progress, and peace throughout the world.

Opinions of the Guests

Kwamena Aaquuah, Secretary of AASU

We who are from Africa consider this bilateral seminar to be a very important event with regard to the themes discussed--the formation of national cadres--which have to do with a crucial problem for the development of our countries. We are pleased to have the opportunity to participate in and follow the discussions and exchange ideas on Romania, which, with its experience, has in recent times made substantial contributions to the progress of the developing countries, supporting their efforts to industrialize and form national cadres in these countries. There are in Romania today more than 4,300 African students studying in many institutions of higher learning in different specialties. These facts have promoted the fruitful results of the seminar in Romanian capital. Another reason why we are glad the seminar was held in Romania is the role played by young people and students in this country. African students want to learn from this experience, from the way that Romanian students and young people contribute to their country's development. Thirdly, we consider the holding of this bilateral seminar here in your country to be a crucial fact due to the rapid developments that have taken place in Romania in a short time, within 30 years. We are convinced that it has been a difficult task and that success has been achieved thanks to the fact that your Communist Party has focused so much attention on good training for students and, in general, on public education.

Nsame Mbongo, UNEK [National Union of Cameroon Students]

The seminar is of great importance for African students in general and for Cameroon students in particular, since we have only recently emerged from a colonial situation which left us with a grave shortage of national cadres, subsequently aggravated by the imperialist and neocolonialist policies which are sabotaging efforts to form our own national cadres in the interests of social development and progress. The seminar is also important because, being held here in Romania, a socialist country which has made great progress in the field of accelerated socioeconomic development and the training of national cadres, we have much to learn from your rich experience and from the conditions which have facilitated this success.

Gerard Bolanzi, UJSC [Congo Socialist Youth Union]

I am convinced that the seminar has been extremely useful. Moreover, we have from the outset ascribed great importance to it, as can be seen from the fact that, in spite of recent events in our country, we have managed to have a delegate from our organization participate in this seminar. The utility of the seminar derives from its very subject matter, so crucial especially for African countries which, in the majority of cases, have gained formal, legal independence in the last 10 years. Now, in order to win genuine economic independence, it is necessary to train national cadres.

9078

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Col Gen Sterian Tirca is relieved of his position as deputy minister of national defense and appointed deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets and director general of the General Directorate of State Reserves. Comrade Nicolae Pretorian is relieved of his position as vice chairman of the Higher Court for Financial Control and Gheorghe Popescu is appointed to this position. Comrade Aurel Musat is appointed deputy minister of the interior. Comrade Lt Gen Iulian Vlad is appointed to the position of state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 39, 9 May 77 p 3]

ENVOY TO MEXICO RECEIVED--Mexican President Jose Lopez-Portillo received Romanian ambassador to Mexico City Dumitru Mihail. The Mexican head of state conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu cordial congratulations and best wishes on Romania's state independence centenary. The two sides then discussed ways to intensify and diversify the friendly Romanian-Mexican relations. [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1730 GMT 11 May 77 AU]

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